Anti-Colonial war, Anti-nuclear campaign & anti-Vietnam War 1966-1967

*(**Anti-Soviet Red Army Occupations – info*)
Flyers & newsletters where present, followed by ***journal articles***
*for information only

Code WV = Workers Vanguard
Code LC = Labor Challenge
Code FW = Forward

1966

1966-05May-1	***Canada-Vietnam Newsletter*** Vol. 1 No. 1, Ottawa: March 26 Protest Biggest Yet; 8000 participate across Canada
1966-06Jun-a	Vancouver ***Vietnam Protest Newsletter*** (Front Cover-outside)
1966-06Jun-b	(Inside Front cover) In this issue; pub: Van. Vietnam Day Cttee.
1966-07July00a	WV-July (insert) Russell urges Americans to oppose the war in Vietnam
1966-09Sept-1	***Canada Vietnam Newsletter***: Ottawa: August demonstrations
1966-10Oct9a	Letter from RD to Ralph Schoenman, Russell Peace Foundation
1966-11Nov16a	Statement of Aims of International War Crimes Tribunal
1966-11Nov16c	Dear Friend: announcing the War Crimes Tribunal in Toronto
1966-11Nov16d	Petition: Support of International War Crimes Tribunal
1966-11Nov-1	***Canada-Vietnam Newsletter***: Ottawa: War buildup after Manila Talks?
1966-98a	(undated, 1966) Aims & Objectives of the War Crimes Tribunal
1966-98d	Preliminary appointees to the International War Crimes Tribunal
1966-99a	(undated, 1966) *Brochure:* Canada's Role in Vietnam: (C-V News)
1966-WV#116-1	US escalation heightening opposition to Vietnam war
1966-WV#116-2	Cubans appeal for real aid to Vietnam *NPD must speak out on Ottawa's Vietnam role, by Ross Dowson*

1966-WV#117-1	Cross-Canada mobilization against the genocidal war in Vietnam
1966-WV#117-2	What we've got and what we want from Ottawa on Vietnam War
1966-WV#117-3	U.S. imperialism chief enemy Says Japan Socialist leader
1966-WV#117-4	US will never succeed: Quebec's NDP's Robert Cliche *Edit: Anything but what's necessary (NDP & Douglas on Vietnam)*
1966-WV#118-1	Opposition to Vietnam War rising from coast to coast
1966-WV#118-2	Anti-war activists in Vancouver; Ottawa march
1966-WV#118-3	Cross-Country with NDP: brass red-baits party antiwar action *Edit: The way ahead (for the anti-Vietnam war movement)* *(info) Ottawa widens role as the merchant of death (in Vietnam)*
1966-WV#119-1	International Vietnam protest planned for Aug. 6-9
1966-WV#119-2	Murder of Detroit anti-war fighter ; Honor martyr (SWP-YSA)
1966-WV#119-3	(Belgian) M.P. condemns NATO pact, US aggression in Vietnam *(note) Cross-country with NDP: brass red-baits party on Vietnam*
**1966-WV#120*	*Edit: Step-up protest against Vietnam War Aug. 6-9; German students*
1966-WV#121-1	NDP leader joins Vietnam protests
1966-WV#121-2	Solidarity with Fort Hood 3; Cross-Canada Vietnam actions *(info)Castro speaks on aid to Vietnam and path to power in Latin America*
1966-WV#122-1	U.S. blocks Viet medical aid
1966-WV#122-2	Hold hearings on US war crimes Russell Tribunal
1966-WV#122-3	J-P Sartre & B. Russell defend views on Vietnam *Toronto anti-war movement split (on) Internationalism and (strategy)*
1966-WV#123-1	Remember the Fallen by opposing Viet War!
1966-WV#123-2a	Bertrand Russell answers critics on Vietnam War Tribunal
1966-WV#123-3	Letter on the Vancouver SUN editor's column on Vietnam
1966-WV#123-4	Fort Hood 3 inspire Viet war resistance

1966-WV#124	War Crimes Tribunal on Vietnam launched (Russell & Sartre) The US election they hide from us (SWP candidate on Vietnam) (note)

1967

1967-01Jan00a	***Canada-Vietnam Newsletter*** (Jan., Ottawa) U.S. Bombs Civilians
1967-01Jan21	***Canada-Vietnam Newsletter*** *(Ottawa):* Spring mobilization
1967-03Mar0a	Cover pamphlet: Ottawa's complicity in Vietnam (SAEWV)
1967-03Mar0b	Back cover: Dissent (high schools) Canada-Vietnam Newsletter ads
1967-03Mar10	Canadian Cttee for the International War Crimes Tribunal -- sponsors
1967-03Mar11	LSA Flyer: An appeal (support the antiwar conference)
1967-03Mar12	Student Assn. to End War in Vietnam (SAEWV) founding booklet
1967-03Mar12	Hear "Report from Hanoi": Rabbi Feinberg & 7 others at Massey Hall
1967-03Mar14	Flyer: Toronto Cttee. to end war: Felix Greene film on North Vietnam
1967-04Apr18	Press Release: Voice of Quebec on Vietnam protest Expo ban
1967-05May2a	Bertrand Russell's Open statement to the first session of the Tribunal
1967-09Sept-1	**Canada-Vietnam Newsletter**: Canadian Govt blocks medical aid!
1967-10Oct14-1	***Bulletin of Student Assn***. – Vol. 2 No. 10: Oct. 21 International Protest
1967-11Nov23	Flyer: Sask. NDP says End Canadian complicity in Vietnam
1967-WV#125	U of Toronto faculty protest Vietnam war *Lies on bombings shock the world; ''Unionists, protest!" (BC)* *US escalation presses anti-war forces toward unity, by P. Kent*
1967-WV#126-1	Build assembly on Vietnam war (March 11)
1967-WV#126-2	Hanoi charges Canada violates ICC obligations
1967-WV#127-1	Support for Russell War Crimes Tribunal
1967-WV#127-2	US Viet protest urges International support
1967-WV#127-3	Canada-wide organisation formed of Anti-war students

1967-WV#127-4	Vancouver unionists project action against US war *(note)Prairie rally hails Tribunal (Sask.)*
1967-WV#128-1	Ottawa sits on help for Vietnam children
1967-WV#128-2	B.C. labor decries war; Pearson heckled for complicity in Vietnam
1967-WV#128-3	Aussie crews strike Vietnam war supplied (World Outlook, USA) *International War Crimes Tribunal meets, seeks Canadian aid*
1967-WV#129-1	Take Vietnam to Expo ’67 on July 1
1967-WV#129-2	Canadians at giant US march; Opposition to Vietnam war impresses
1967-WV#130	Quebec labor boosts July 1 mobilization against Viet war *(info)Viet committee & CP correspond (re CP support for July 1)* *(Info) Communist Party doesn’t support July 1, ‘’bad time & place”*
1967-WV#132	Big fall protest: Toronto anti-war group
1967-WV#133-1	Photo: International Day of Protest against Vietnam war, Oct. 21
1967-WV#133-2	War Crimes Tribunal continues its Inquiry
1967-WV#133-3	Should we: Aid (conscript army) draft dodgers?
1967-WV#134-1	October 21 protest; growing support against Vietnam war
1967-WV#134-2	Alliances tie Canada to new missile grid, by D.F.
1967-WV#134-3	U.S. socialists announce 1968 Presidential slate (against war)
1967-WV#135-1	(PM) Martin’s UN speech: What he really said
1967-WV#135-2	World opposition to Vietnam war: October 21 protest
1967-WV#136-1	Students, unionists join October 21 rallies *(info)‘’Realistic thinking” (US opinion on Vietnam war)*
1967-WV#137	Vancouver committee aids fight on Viet war, by A. Engler
1967-WV#138-1	Martin double-talks on arms sales; Hellyer passes buck on complicity
1967-WV#138-2	76,600 reject Vietnam war in San Francisco referendum (SWP poll)
1967-WV#139-1	New protests focus on Canada’s Vietnam role, by J. Wilson

1967-WV#139-2 Book Reviews: Witnesses of crimes in Vietnam: B. Fall & J. Schell

1967-WV#139-3 Trade Union Notes (Labor & Vietnam; photo: student power)

1967-WV#139-4 What to do if the bomb drops: No problem in B.C. by Ruth Paul

Vol. 1, No. 1 Box 2352, Stn. "D", Ottawa, May, 1966 10c

canada vietnam newsletter

March 26 Protest Biggest Yet

WHY THE NEWSLETTER ?

You are now reading Volume 1, No. 1, of the CANADA VIETNAM NEWSLETTER. The Newsletter is produced in Ottawa by the Ottawa Committee to End the War in Vietnam. This issue is a sample of a projected monthly publication designed to be the expression of the burgeoning Canadian movement against the war in Vietnam.

The Newsletter originated at a meeting in Ottawa on March 26 when activists against the war from Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia and Alberta urged the Ottawa Committee to take on the Newsletter project. The same meeting established rough guide-lines for the Newsletter. It is projected that the Newsletter serve four basic functions:

(a) That it present the most relevant and newsworthy aspects of the war in Vietnam;

(b) that it report on Canada's complicity in the war;

(c) that it report on anti-Vietnam war activities and on the growth of the Movement with special reference to Canada;

(d) that it provide a forum for the presentation and discussion of projects, activities and organizational forms of the Canadian Movement.

A newsletter such as this can play a vital role in building a powerful, broadly-based movement to end the war in Vietnam. It can assist in the day-to-day work of bringing new people to action. It can inform us of anti-Vietnam war activities on a national basis and thereby enable concentration on efforts to increase their effectiveness. It can provide a regular means for discussing the problems that a new movement such as this must face; problems such as how to organize to serve our own aims best. No serious group, organization or movement of any sort can exist without a regular service of information, communication and discussion of mutual problems.

Please present the bulletin to your committee, your union local, your church group or to your fellow workers. Urge support for the Newsletter. Utilize it yourself to keep up to date on the facts about the war and Canadian complicity in the war. Utilize it to present your ideas for activities and projects. Help us to finance the Newsletter and, hopefully, with your co-operation the Newsletter will grow, the Movement will grow. Join with us. Support the Newsletter.

* * *

Extra copies of this Newsletter and orders for the next can be obtained from:

The Ottawa Committee to End the War in Vietnam at P.O. Box 2352, Stn. "D", Ottawa. Price 10c per copy.

8,000 Participate Across Canada

The March 26 march was the largest and most successful anti-war demonstration Ottawa has ever seen, with over 2,500 people participating. One has only to compare this with the last Vietnam demonstration in Ottawa one year ago, which attracted fewer than 100 people, to judge the growth of popular sentiment against the war in Vietnam.

It all began last December when the Ontario Young New Democrats officially decided to issue a call for an Easter March on Ottawa to oppose the war in Vietnam, and to call for an end to the complicity of the Canadian government in the war. The OYND convention in mid-February moved the date forward to March 26 to coincide with the International Days of Protest. At the same time, a conference in Toronto of 1,000 concerned individuals and representatives of churches, trade unions, and peace groups issued a similar call for a parallel action on the 26th.

The march was widely publicized in major centres across Ontario and in Montreal, which sent three busloads to Ottawa on the 26th. Numerous building actions such as seminars and poster campaigns preceded the demonstration; radio and TV stations carried news of the action, and a full page advertisement, purchased by the Toronto Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, appeared in the **Ottawa Citizen** on Friday, the 25th, signed by leading representatives of churches, peace groups, and political organizations, as well as university professors.

Although other centres carried their own protests, the Ottawa action drew participants from as far away as Vancouver and Edmonton — in Ontario alone, London, St. Catharines, Sarnia, Oshawa, Peterborough, Kingston and Toronto were represented — Toronto by a contingent of no less than 1,200 who arrived in a train specially chartered by the Toronto Co-ordinating Committee.

Rally on Parliament Hill

The demonstrators marched along downtown Ottawa streets and then assembled on Parliament Hill for a rally. Speakers were Mme Therese Casgrain of VOW, Gerry Gallager of the TLU, John Scott Cowan of the YND, Art Pape, of SUPA, Colin Cameron of the NDP, and Pierre Bedard, of the Parti Socialiste Quebecois.

The marchers planned to present a brief to the government, calling for negotiations to end the war, and a return

(Continued on Page 4)

UNITED CHURCH MINISTER:

Says U.S. Hell-bent For War With China

"If the conflict in Vietnam is not settled, China will likely be forced to intervene and then World War III will have started.

"If we demand unconditional surrender we are only forcing a proud people to fight to the death. But if we appreciate why the Viet Cong are fighting, against such odds, at a terrible price, we would then open the door to negotiation."

Rev. Raymond Hord, secretary of the United Church Board of Evangelism and Social Service, spoke these words at a public rally on March 25 in the Legion Hall in Saskatoon. The rally was sponsored by St. Patrick College students and faculty.

The rally was covered in a 450-word, three-column story in the March 26 Toronto **Globe and Mail**.

"Hell-bent for War"

Mr. Hord went on to say the United States is hell-bent for war with China, using Vietnam as a base to attack Peking which has replaced Hanoi as the alleged aggressor.

Rev. Hord then condemned Canada's position on Vietnam:

"Our policy of wheat sales to Communist China is independent from that of the United States. Our trade policy with Cuba was opposed by Washington. If Canada is going to be an effective member of the International Control Commission she must play an independent role and not run to Washington for approval."

"Both sides of the war should want an independent Vietnam; an international peacekeeping force to supervise a phased withdrawal of troops; a provisional government; and free elections," the **Globe and Mail** reports.

Protest Obliteration Bombing

"As persons who believe in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man we must retain respect for the Vietnamese people, protest obliteration bombing of innocent people — the elderly, the women and the children."

Rev. Hord participated in the teach-in at Regina the next day.

CLC, CNTU BOTH OPPOSE WAR IN VIETNAM

Both the Canadian Labour Congress and the Quebec-based Confederation of National Trade Unions strongly opposed the war in Vietnam in their annual submissions to the federal government in February.

The texts of their statements follow:

CLC STATEMENT

We are particularly disturbed by the war in Vietnam. We urge you to exert all the influence which Canada can command to assist in bringing about a cessation of hostilities as a prerequisite for negotiations leading to peace and stability in South East Asia. While appreciating the formidable difficulties inherent in the Vietnamese situation, we cannot help but express our sense of horror at the suffering of innocent civilians, the resort to terror and assassination, the scorched earth tactics, the use of gas and other terrible means of warfare, and the rapidly-mounting toll of dead, wounded and maimed on both sides of the conflict in Vietnam. There is always the frightening possibility that all of mainland South East Asia and perhaps beyond may become a battlefield and that the continuation of the conflict may also have adverse internal repercussions in the United States.

We realize that there are no simple solutions or choices open in Vietnam. Nevertheless, the war there cannot be allowed to continue much longer. Canada should work for a negotiated settlement, which would have to reflect the actual and potential realities of the military and political situation in Vietnam and not some negative cold-war ideological concepts, or outdated communist slogans. The combatants would have to renounce all dreams for total victory or unconditional surrender by either side. We urge you, therefore, to support the following:

1. Unconditional discussions or negotiations, open to all parties of the conflict, to bring about an immediate cease-fire in Vietnam.
2. Implementation of the Geneva accords of 1954 and 1962 and in particular the eventual removal of all foreign troops and military personnel from North and South Vietnam and the cessation of all acts of terror and subversion.
3. Self-determination and independence for the people of Vietnam, as well as for all the people of South East Asia, free from outside interference.
4. A massive aid program, to assist the people concerned in their economic development and rehabilitation.

* * *

CNTU STATEMENT

We are not satisfied with Canada's policy on Vietnam. We believe that Canada must cease approving Washington in this war. The military escalation in this eastern country is a menace to world peace.

We must organize for the future an acceptable system of relationship in a multi-nation world, such as the United States has begun with the U.S.S.R.

The United States action in Vietnam is unjust and may delay the preparation of a world in which commercial interests will be based much more on the prosperity and freedom of each people than on their emprisonment by armed force in the narrow limits of their submissive misery.

A country such as Canada cannot escape its responsibilities in the matter of offering as a reason that we are tied to the economy of the United States.

Mass Rally Planned In Toronto on May 7

The Toronto Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam is planning a mass rally in that city on May 7. An expected 4,000 people will participate in the demonstration, which will culminate in a march to the new Toronto City Hall, where special speakers will be heard. Emphasis will be placed on the right of the people of Vietnam to self-determination, and opposition will be expressed to the sale of Canadian arms for use by the Americans in Vietnam.

Ottawa Professor Charges:

CANADA GUILTY OF COMPLICITY IN VIETNAM

Canada is at least partly to blame for the war in Vietnam, in the view of an Ottawa professor who has been making a study of the handling of certain legal problems by the Canadian delegation to the International Commission for Supervision and Control.

Dr. James A. Steele of Carleton University argues that Canada has provided South Vietnam with "a false sanction" for renouncing the Geneva Agreement of 1954, "upon which the peace of that land depended".

In a well-documented paper, now available in booklet form, Dr. Steele rejects the widely-held notion that the Geneva Agreement was gradually undermined by a series of violations by both sides.

"In point of legal fact," he said, "the Cease-fire Agreement ceased to exist as an agreement as early as the spring of 1955, when the South Vietnamese government refused to honour it. From then on it continued to exist merely as an ideal for some and as a bad memory for others."

The excuse given by the South Vietnam government at the same time was that it was not a party to the Geneva Agreement and was therefore not bound to abide by it. The Agreement was signed by France before the government of South Vietnam was accorded sovereign status, but it did contain a clause binding the signatories **and their successors.**

The Indian and Polish members of the ICSC refused to accept as valid the South Vietnamese claim that it was not legally bound by the Geneva Cease-fire Agreement. There was good reason for refusing to recognize this claim, Steele pointed out. In Article 2 of the treaty between France and Vietnam, which established the state as a sovereign entity, the State of Vietnam had agreed to "take over from France all the rights and obligations resulting from international treaties or conventions contracted by France on behalf of or in the name of the State of Vietnam or all other treaties and conventions concluded by France in the name of French Indo-China, insofar as these affect Vietnam."

Nevertheless, the Canadian delegate on the three-man Commission presented a minority statement agreeing with the South Vietnamese regime that it was not "formally engaged" to carry out the terms of the Geneva Agreement.

The Canadian judgment, according to Dr. Steele, is based on South Vietnam's contention that it had become a sovereign state before the agreement was signed, that it made protests and reservations at the time of the signing of the agreement, and that France did not have the right to commit her to the terms of the agreement.

Dr. Steele said that the facts do not support this claim, that the truth is that France did not grant South Vietnam sovereign status until after the Geneva Accord was signed — so that the Vietnamese protests were without a legal basis.

"The Canadian judgment, therefore," he asserted, "was ill-founded, unjust, and fraught with evil consequences. By providing the Diem administration with a semi-judicial sanction for renouncing the Geneva Agreement, we thereby assisted in its destruction. I think we must face up to the horrible fact that we are partly to blame for the present conflict."

He added that it would perhaps be kinder to explain the Canadian judgment in terms of "stupidity" rather than "judicial turpitude".

"But if we do think of ourselves as being merely stupid," he said, "then the implications are almost unthinkable. For if, in our stupidity, we really did believe that the State of Vietnam was not bound by the Agreement, then we must have believed that the Agreement was basically unsound and invalid at the time we accepted a role on the ICSC. If so, one would be hard put to find in the whole history of international peace-keeping an example of greater bad faith than we have shown."

MOWAT SPEECH AVAILABLE

Farley Mowat, the well-known Canadian author of "Westviking", "People of the Deer", "Never Cry Wolf", and other best-selling books, issued an outspoken statement on the Vietnam war at the Toronto conference on Canada's Role in Vietnam last Feb. 19. Copies of his statement, "Canada's Role in Vietnam", may be obtained in booklet form, from the Newsletter, at 25c each.

Cease Bombing, Churches Urge

The executive of the Anglican Church of Canada passed the following resolution at its meetings earlier this year:

THAT this National Executive Council of the Anglican Church of Canada, in session on Friday, February 18, 1966, deeply concerned about the continued conflict in Vietnam, and the death and suffering resulting therefrom for increasing numbers of people, including the civilian population, both in South and North Vietnam:

(1) supports the resolution adopted on February 16 by the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches, calling for a negotiated solution of the problem;

(2) commends the Government of Canada for its efforts towards a solution, particularly through its mediation as a member of the International Control Commission.

* * *

Following is part of the resolution referred to in the Anglican statement passed by the World Council of Churches at Geneva:

"That the United States and South Vietnam stop bombing of the North and North Vietnam stop military infiltration of the South.

"That the United States of America now announce its commitment to a withdrawal of its troops, phased in accordance with provisions of a peacekeeping machinery under international auspices and deemed adequate in the judgment of an international authority.

"That all parties recognize the necessity of according a place in the negotiations both to the government of South Vietnam and to the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong).

"That another ceasefire be mutually and promptly agreed upon, of sufficient duration to serve as a cooling-off period and as an opportunity for testing possibilities of negotiation — with considerably enlarged unit of the international control commission (India, Canada and Poland) to insure that cease-fire commitments are honoured."

Where do we go from here?

At this point it is redundant to state that a Canadian anti-Vietnam war movement is emerging. In fact, it is growing at such a rate that most of us are unable to imagine even its present size and scope.

The March 26 marches were tangible demonstrations of the horror felt by many Canadians over the war, and their antipathy to the roles of both the Canadian and U.S. governments. Marches involving about 8,000 Canadians were mounted across the country, and Vietnam became the focal point of the largest anti-war protest ever to occur in Canada.

But the marches did not occur spontaneously. They were organized through the painstaking work of those Canadians most knowledgeable about the war, and therefore most militant and committed in their opposition to it. To build such an action required that those actively opposed to the war concert their efforts and co-operate with one another — in a word, organize.

For this reason, to give substance to the thoughts and feelings of individuals and smaller groupings, Anti-Vietnam War Committees were formed, and continue to be formed. Committees arose in Vancouver, Calgary, Red Deer, Edmonton, Regina, St. Catharines, London, Sarnia, Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal. All across the country, revulsion for the actions of **our** government and our government's allies sought and found organizational forms.

Co-operation Inspiring

The great task was the March 26 protest, and the limited time and urgency of the work overcame many problems. Co-operation reached inspiring levels, and when the day arrived we added an effective voice to the rising world voices decrying U.S. aggression.

On March 26th a start was made, and we must pose questions now which need discussion — questions flowing naturally from such an elemental upsurge over the Vietnam war, from the growing opposition of which we are a part.

The movement is young. It is involving and, hopefully, will continue to involve literally thousands of people never before interested in opposing a war, any war. Already the Anti-Vietnam War Movement is national in scope, and we must think in broader and newer terms than many of us have had to in the past.

Two Types of Committee

Two major points come to the fore immediately when one thinks back over the build-up for the Ottawa march. When organizations first appeared they took on two basic forms. The first was a formation consisting of representatives or delegates of previously existing organizations; the second was composed of a group of individuals, many never before involved in anti-war activities, who came together to act on their general concern over this single issue. Both types of committees exist now across the country.

We must face the liabilities and assets of both committee forms squarely and honestly, so that we may better build our own committee. We must discuss as well the desirability, need and possible forms of a national Anti-Vietnam War organization.

We already have a large movement; we can and shall become larger. We must concert our actions. We must not set up unnecessary organizational structures that would only detract from the central task of building the movement. At the same time, we must be organized sufficiently to work efficiently and maximize the results of our efforts.

Please send in your ideas and suggestions on these questions: (1) the liabilities and assets of the two major committee forms; and (2) the building of a national organization.

MARCH 26 PROTESTS

(Continued from Page 1)

to the Geneva Accords. Unfortunately, the government was indisposed, and sent no representative to receive the brief. A handful of counter-demonstrators were present on the hill during the rally, but their provocations were largely ignored, and they were unable to dampen the enthusiasm of the marchers.

While 2,500 were marching in Ottawa, similar actions were being carried across Canada and the United States. The Vancouver march was preceded by a public meeting at which Staughton Lynd spoke, the audience donating $500 for the Days of Protest. On Friday, the 25th, a monster Vietnam rally at the University of British Columbia drew about 3,500 students. The march itself attracted 2,500, and lasted two hours, finally ending at the City Court House, where a gathering of 4,000 heard speeches from Professor Wilmott of UBC, Alex MacDonald, NDP MLA, Ray Burns, chairman of the UBC Vietnam Day Committee, and several ministers.

The Edmonton demonstration was equally successful. Three hundred people, comprising the largest protest demonstration in Edmonton since the thirties, marched through the centre of the city, and assembled at the Legislative Building, where they were addressed by Ed Nelson, Vice-President of the Alberta NDP, Doug Murdoch, President of the Alberta Federation of Labour, Professor Ted Kemp, UA Philosophy Department, and John Burke, a UA student. The march was organized by the Young New Democrats, and attracted a wide range of organizations from various centres in the province.

Thousands March in U.S.

Meanwhile, inspiring reports arrived from the United States, where thousands upon thousands were protesting their government's role in Vietnam. In New York alone, 50,000 people either took part in the march down Fifth Avenue, or in the Central Park rally that followed. One of the most prominent themes of the march, on posters, and in the chanting of the marchers, was "Bring the Troops Home Now!"

In Chicago, 5,000 marched; in Detroit, 1,500; in Boston, 2,000; Los Angeles, 2,000; Washington, 700. Everywhere the story is the same — opposition to the war is growing in size and militancy.

Already, in Canada, Vietnam committees have sprung up in several centres in British Columbia, Alberta, Ontario, and Quebec around the March Days of Protest, and more will appear to carry the work of education and action around the war in Vietnam.

March 26 marked a tremendous step forward from the last Days of Protest in October 1965. It can hardly be doubted, with the good omens we have witnessed, that the next International Days in July will mark an even greater growth in the anti-Vietnam war movement.

OFC June 1966 (p.13)

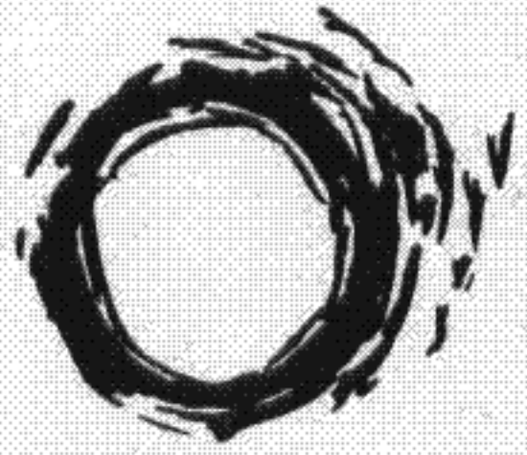
1966

VIETNAM PROTEST

25¢

VANCOUVER CANADA

What is the V.D.C.?



Role of Buddhism

New York Call

Final Conclusion

IFC

VIETNAM PROTEST summer 1966

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ray burns - member of the organizing committee of the vancouver vdc and chairman of the ubc vdc.

ralph schoenman - an american now living in england - chairman of the bertrand russell peace foundation - recently returned from a fact finding mission to vietnam.

clive ansley - asian studies student at ubc - especially interested in the nationalist movements of south east asia.

Vietnam Protest is published by the Vancouver Vietnam Day Committee, as a means of circulating information on Vietnam which is not available in the daily press; reporting on local and international activity against the war in Vietnam; raising and discussing the issue of Canadian complicity in the war; and providing a forum for discussion of questions of specific concern to the anti-war movement. We hope to publish the journal from four to six times a year. Subscription to the journal is included in the price of a membership in the VVDC - $1.00

What is the _____ VANCOUVER VIETNAM DAY COMMITTEE

Ray Burns

The Vancouver Vietnam Day Committee had its roots in the University of B.C. Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and today still has a number of student members. However, this is changing as more and more people who are not students come in.

The VDC is a membership organization with a definite program. As the membership card states, the committee: 1. Demands that the U.S. stop escalating the war in Vietnam. That is

a) stop bombing South Vietnam
b) stop bombing North Vietnam
c) stop flights over mainland China

2. Demands that all foreign governments abide by the Geneva Agreements; for the U.S. specifically this means: a) withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam (article 16).
b) dismantling of U.S. military bases in South Vietnam (article 19).

This program was developed further around the March 26 International Days of Protest, when the Committee carried signs demanding "Withdraw U.S. Troops Now" and "End Canadian Complicity."

Who can join?

As can be seen by the program, VDC is a single issue organization. That is, it concerns itself only with the issue of Vietnam. Anyone who agrees with the VDC program can join. Pacifists, socialists, and discontented liberals can all find common ground on which to agree. A single-issue committee gives groups and individuals of differing viewpoints on the world a vehicle through

which to work together for effective action on the one thing they agree on -- opposition to the Vietnam war.

Our demands

The only demands our committee can make are the principled demands that recognize the right of a people to self-determination without interference from any great power -- or anyone at all for that matter.

It is for this reason that VDC demands that the U.S. withdraw its troops and that the Canadian government end its complicity with the U.S. in Vietnam. The principle on which our Committee rests is the recognition of the slogan "Vietnam for the Vietnamese" and this is why we must fight to end all interference in that country by the U.S. armed might as well as well as by the Canadian government whose gutless so-called "diplomacy" always comes down on the side of the U.S. in the end.

Perspectives for action

Our perspectives for action on these points lie in mobilizing as many people as possible as swiftly as possible to express opposition to the war. The people who oppose the war come from many layers and classes in society. The contribution they can make in protest must therefore vary. It is up to the Vietnam Day Committee to give leadership here. Mass marches can be organized, conferences on the war can be held, famous speakers can be invited to speak at public rallies, trade union action can be organized to make "War Material" hot, broad educational work can be carried on by geting literature to as many people as possible.

The possibilites for action are, without exageration, limitless, and more imaginative possibilities come to mind quite easily.

To carry out these actions however, requires money, time, people, work and organization. If you feel you would like to join us in this fight don't hesitate to come and work with us to end the war in Vietnam.

EDITORIAL

In his presidential campaign in 1964, Johnson declared that to bomb North Vietnam would be inviting war with China. Today, he is bombing the major cities of North Vietnam. The future of the world is at stake as the U.S. government risks nuclear war in an attempt to crush the people of Vietnam into submission.

The attacks on the two main population centers of North Vietnam demonstrate their willingness to continue the war to the point of genocide rather than allow the Vietnamese to decide themselves on their own future.

As with every extension of the war, this makes it even more clear that the only solution to the conflict is the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops; the recognition in reality of the democratic right of the Vietnamese people to self-determination.

The escalation of the war demands an escalation of our struggle against the war. Already, Johnson is attempting to bolster his attacks on Vietnam with attacks on the anti-war movement at home. At the same time, the increasing scope and brutality of the war are having an impact on the American people. The most recent Gallup poll shows that 35% of Americans are now in favor of the immediate withdrawal of troops compared to only 20% a year ago. Our task is to mobilize these forces to build an independent, militant movement against the war in Vietnam.

THE ROLE OF BUDDHISM

in the present phase of the Vietnamese Nationalist Movement

Clive Ansley

The recent Buddhist-led riots in Saigon, Danang and Hue appear to have perplexed and bewildered both the American Administration and the greater part of the American press. The characteristic American failure to comprehend the culture of the people whose country they are occupying has never been more apparent than in the recent crisis. The spectrum of American press reaction has ranged, charges that the dissident Buddhists represent only an insignificant minority to the assumption of many liberals that the overwhelming majority of Vietnamese are devout Buddhists. Both beliefs contribute to preventing an understanding of the political role currently being played by the Buddhists.

The nature of that role can be appreciated only in terms of the history and culture of the Vietnamese people. Vietnam is a part of the Chinese cultural area. Very briefly, this has meant in times past the adoption of the Chinese emperor system, Confucian government, the traditional Chinese civil service examinations, and the Chinese written language. (This last-mentioned borrowing from the Chinese seems worth remembering in view of Robert McNamara's habit of holding aloft rifles marked with Chinese characters as final proof for some of his wilder charges at news conferences). It has also meant the development on the part of the Vietnamese of an attitude very similar to that of the Chinese.

Western values

There is a widespread tendency in the West to assume that most of our western values and institutions have their almost exact counterparts in the Far East. Christianity has been one of the pillars of western civilization. Because of the historical prominence and power of the church in western society, many westerners have simply assumed that religion necessarily plays a vital function in any advanced civilization. This premise has led to the basic western approaches to religion in the Far East. Those with a narrower outlook have felt a need to proselytize Christianity among the heathen Orientals. More tolerant Westerners have simply concluded that in the Far East Buddhism must be substituted for Christianity as a necessary source of legitimacy for all political elements. In the Chinese cultural area, such a conclusion is completely invalid. The Chinese and those they influenced have never adopted the exclusivist, proselytizing approach to religion which is taken for granted in the West. The "holy war" has been almost unknown in Chinese history. In pre-revolutionary China it was quite common for one individual to worship in a Taoist shrine in the morning, attend a Buddhist service in the afternoon, and make sacrifices to his ancestors in the evening, all the while subscribing to the basic tenets of a Confucian-ordered society. It was also quite acceptable to be completely unconcerned with any religion at all.

The failure of the Christian missionaries to convert large numbers of Chinese was primarily due not to Chinese hostility to Christianity, but to an understandable unwillingness on the part of Chinese to completely renounce all religions developed within their own civilization and recognize a foreign faith as the sole legitimate one. Consideration of this background makes it easier to understand that in the contemporary Vietnamese situation, failure to subscribe to Buddhist prin-

ciples need not render any group politically illegitimate. It is precisely this that puzzles American writers attempting to discern the motives of Buddhist leaders in the recent crisis.

Diem's regime

The mass support which has rallied to the Buddhist leaders cannot then be taken as evidence of mass support for Buddhism per se. This fact is central to any analysis of the extent of popular support for the National Liberation Front, since that organization is assuredly not Buddhist-controlled or influenced. The large following the Buddhists have recently enjoyed may be more correctly regarded as deriving from an essentially negative reaction against a long period of foreign military and cultural domination. One historical characteristic common not only to Vietnam, but to all of Southeast Asia has been the steadfast refusal to accept any philosophy or political leader popularly seen as alien-controlled or acting in alien interests. Vietnam since Geneva has been a classic example. Ngo Dinh Diem was not only installed as premier in South Vietnam by American pressure and maintained in power by American threats to stop paying the armed forces if Diem should be deposed. In addition Diem had a record of having refused to support the resistance movement against the French, he was a Catholic and thus shared the alien faith of only 7% of his countrymen, and he was a native of the Hue area which meant that his rule in Saigon inevitably inspired considerable regional resentment.

The negative reaction referred to above began under Diem and has since steadily augmented the support which Buddhism would otherwise enjoy. Given the fact that Buddhism was the predominant native religion, although originally not a militant force, a glance at the composition of Diem's civil service may answer several questions. In a nominally Buddhist population the Roman Catholics, who comprised approximately 7% of the population, contributed upwards of 80% of the government

officials in the civil service. Moreover, members of the government came almost exclusively from Diem's home area of Hue and thus were unknown to the population they served. Since Diem's demise, this pattern has continued unbroken. The present group of ruling genreals in Saigon enjoy the distinction of having fought on the side of the French against their own countrymen in the first Indochinese War. As might be expected, General Ky himself is a Catholic. Moreover, Ky is a North Vietnamese, the irony of which flies in the face of American attempts to create an artificial difference between North and South and preserve the right of the South to choose its own leaders.

Negotiations ?

With this background let us turn now to a current phenomenon which appears to be utterly beyond the limits of American comprehension, that of the apparent willingness of some Buddhist elements to negotiate the end of the war with the National Liberation Front. The standard American press reaction has been to regard any such negotiation as logically inconceivable in view of the assumed incompatibility of the religious leaders and communist leaders. It is necessary to recognize that, in fact, no such incompatibility exists. American bewilderment on this issue arises from the previously-mentioned tendency of Westerners to apply their own values in areas of the world where these values have little or no relevance. Since communism is anathema to religion in the West, it is unthinkingly assumed that this is unquestionably the case in Vietnam. But the historical level of religious tolerance in the Chinese cultural area has meant that 'communism' has never become a dirty word. Indeed, although space does not permit an historical discussion of the Vietnamese nationalist movement, it should be asserted that communists have led the nationalist movement without interruption since 1932 and have been fully accepted by the overwhelming majority of the people. Because of the history of Indochina under

the French it has been left to the words "imperialism" and "colonialism" to evoke the kind of emotional outrage which the word "communism" evokes on this continent.

The future

What then of the future of Buddhist opposition to Marshal Ky? The American press credits Ky with a decisive political victory over the Buddhist dissidents. Such a conclusion seems premature to say the least. Moreover it appears to be another example of confusing military success with political victory, Ky has achieved no new ties with his people and further struggle against him is probably temporarily prevented only by the remote hope that his promise of elections might prove legitimate.

If this premise is valid, how realistic is the hope for genuine elections under the present Saigon regime? The first point to consider is that from three quarters to four fifths of Vietnam is under the control of the National Liberation Front and thus could not participate. Secondly, Ky has publicly stated that communists will not be permitted to run for election. This point alone completely invalidates any elections which may be held, since communists lead the nationalist movement and have done so continuously for thirty-five years. As a fitting final touch, Ky has vowed to remove by force any future government which might move to negotiate with the National Liberation Front whether or not that government was duly elected and whether or not that government was communist. Considering these three factors, it is a reasonably safe bet that the promised "free elections" will follow the Diemist pattern. In the 1959 Presidential elections Diem enjoyed such overwhelming popular support that he recieved more votes than there were registered voter. His campaign manager was the leader of the offical opposition Socialist Unity Party. If a similar circus

(continued on page 12)

HIROSHIMA 1945 — VIETNAM 1966

Twenty-one years after the criminal atomic bombing of Hiroshima the human race still lives under the terrible threat of nuclear war. While the U.S. continues to escalate its aggression against Vietnam, the danger of a global nuclear conflict becomes more and more imminent.

The best possible way to commemorate the victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is to prevent the continued escalation of U.S. aggression in Vietnam and force an end to this brutal war: to fight against this war with the clear demand for the unconditional withdrawl of U.S. troops and to build an effective opposition in our own country against the complicity of the Canadian government in the war.

The New York Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee - led by A.J. Muste and Dave Dellinger - has issued a call for a Third International Days of Protest against the war in Vietnam for the weekend of August 6-9 (see Call page). Over 35 American Committees against the Vietnam war and seven Canadian groups - including the Canada Vietnam Newsletter, the Toronto Co-ordinating Committee and the Vancouver Vietnam Day Committee have endorsed this call.

The Vancouver Vietnam Day Committee is appealing to all groups and individuals in the Vancouver area to join forces in support of the rally to be held at the Peace Arch, at the U.S.-Canadian border, on Saturday, August 6.

Hiroshima Day in August 1966 can only be Vietnam Day - a day on which the peoples of the world stage a massive world wide protest against U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

NEW YORK CALL

Dear Friends:-

A CALL FOR INTERNATIONAL DAYS OF PROTEST AGAINST THE WAR IN VIETNAM ON AUGUST 6 TO 9. From the New York Fifth Ave. Vietnam Peace Parade Committee.

THE TIME HAS COME TO ESCALATE THE HUMANE EFFORT TO BRING AMERICAN MILITARY INTERVENTION IN VIETNAM TO AN END!

There is no time to be lost. In spite of all the objections, criticisms, and protests that have been levelled against Washington's policy in Vietnam, the Johnson administration persists in escalating its intervention in that stricken country. It now hints that the number of G.I.'s in Vietnam will be raised to 400,000 or even 600,000 before the end of the year. It continues to back the military junta headed by the infamous Marshall Ky, despite Ky's open rejection of any efforts at negotiations, which the United States professes to support. Ky blatantly denies that he has agreed to early elections and the setting up of a civilian regime, as demanded a few weeks ago in the great popular uprisings in the U.S. controlled sections of South Vietnam. The shameful spectacle of American military support of such a regime must be exposed and brought to an end.

Despite the traditional summer lull, the Committee feels that the urgency of the Vietnam situation requires large-scale protests that cannot be postponed till the fall without the danger of cruel insensitivity to the heartrending appeals of the Vietnamese people. The main anti-Ky, anti-U.S. demonstrations took place after the March 26 International Days of Protest, further exposing the hypocrisy of U.S. pretensions and creating new reservoirs of persons who are disillusioned with the war and ready to take part in public protests. Intensive community organizing campaigns have been planned for many areas of the country, as part of

a determined effort to broaden the base of the movement. These campaigns should activate new people, and major demonstrations, in turn, will add drama, color and concreteness to these crucial organizing efforts. As the United States bombs closer and closer to Hanoi and China, it arouses more and more apprehension that the war in Vietnam will escalate into a nuclear war.

The twenty-first anniversary of the atrocious atom bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, August 6 to 9, 1966 is a fitting date for the nation wide and world wide demand for peace in Vietnam to focus. The threat of a nuclear holocaust has hung over the human race too long. Instead of being dispelled, it is aggravated by current U.S. policy in Vietnam.

Let multitudes rally in all parts of the world on those days. Let peace-minded persons and organizations in every state of the United States and in every country of the world devise ways to call for an end to the military intervention in Vietnam as a first imperative step to ending the threat of nuclear war and bringing justice, freedom, and peace to mankind.

* * *

The New York Fifth Avenue peace Parade Committee, which organized the New York demonstration of more than 50,000 persons last March 26, met May 4 and selected August 6-9 as the dates for its next major protests in America's largest city. The Committee urges other groups -- local, regional, national and international -- to join with us in organizing protests on these dates.

The Parade Committee decided that the theme for the New York demonstration will be "Bring the Troops Home Now." Its slogans and the exact nature of the demonstration will be worked out in the coming weeks.

The New York demonstration will be announced here May 23 at a public meeting at Manhattan Center. At this meeting, the Committee's Chairman, A.J. Muste, will report his findings on the recent visit (and protest) in Saigon, which he made with a group of American pacifists. Also speaking at this meeting will be the noted journalist, I. F. Stone, who has also just returned from a fact-finding trip to Saigon.

The Committee would like to announce, at the same time, the co-participation in the August 6-9 protests of other groups across the country and in the world. If you can make a decision by May 23, please let us know, by wire if necessary. Naturally this will be a preliminary announcement, so we do not need to have detailed plans, but it is important for us to know if you will be planning to conduct some major activity during the August 6-9 period.

The public announcement of the call should be withheld until the common release date, May 23, when it can be announced simultaneously across the world.

We would appreciate your considering this matter and bringing it to the attention of others. Let us know as soon as possible your reactions, suggestions, and plans.

Sincerely, (signed)

A.J. Muste
Chairman

Dave Dellinger
Coordinator

Norma Becker
Coordinator

(continued from page 8)

performance is perpetrated on the Vietnamese residing within the area controlled by the Saigon government, further Buddhist erruptions are assured in September.

Canada / Vietnam Newsletter

VOL. 1, NO. 2 JUNE, 1966

The Canadian voice of the anti-Vietnam-war movement.

Editorial Board this issue:

Charlotte McEwen
Roger Carter
Jeff White
Peter Mix
Ken Warren
Ed Finn
Gil Levine
Stig Harvor

Blood Money Reward For Canada's Complicity

by Roger Carter

Canada is knowingly and willingly contributing material aid to support the U.S. government's devastation of Vietnam.

This conclusion is drawn from recent articles in the *Financial Post* and the *Globe and Mail*, two of Canada's most influential newspapers.

The April 7 *Globe and Mail* reports: "Exports of Canadian military explosives to the United States are growing rapidly to help meet U.S. needs in the Vietnam war, authorities said yesterday." The report goes on to say that explosive exports in 1966 are expected to exceed 292,000,000 pounds, double the amount produced five years ago for commercial domestic use.

The biggest explosives producer, Canadian Industries Ltd. of Montreal, last year purchased the Crown-owned Canadian Arsenals Ltd. plant at Valleyfield, Quebec, and began working almost exclusively on U.S. contracts for explosives.

The *Globe* also points to Dominion Bureau of Statistics figures which indicate a sharp increase in chemicals and explosives exported to the U.S. towards the end of 1965.

The Nov. 20, 1965, *Financial Post* says in a front page story: 'Canada may share in the developmental costs and production of a new supersonic fighter under study in the U.S." The plane, known as the FX, is to be used for all types of battle situations "from local Vietnam-type wars right up to a major war."

On Nov. 27, the *Post* said: "Canada's exports will very likely be stimulated by sharply-rising U.S. spending for the war."

It continues: *"In fact, the Vietnam war could have export effects for Canada similar to the Korean war. Despite the fact that Canadian foreign policy is at odds with the U.S. on many tactics, the Canadian economy is benefitting."*

"Good" News

Again, on Jan. 15, 1966, *FP* divulged some "good" news: "De Havilland Caribou transport aircraft are performing very well in Vietnam, and the U.S. army is pressing hard for funds in its 1966-67 budget for a substantial new order. In addition, the army is ready to push for a large purchase of Buffaloes, the turbo-prop version of the Cariboo."

Both aircraft are made by De Havilland in Toronto.

In the same story the *Post* mourns the sales of the American-made A-7A jet fighters to the U.S. military, instead of the Canadian F-5.

Then it rallies again and says:

"One good thing could change the picture: a rapidly worsening situation in Vietnam. Then the U.S. might order F-5's to fill the gap while waiting for the A-7A's, which aren't likely to be available in large numbers for two or three years."

And Canada is on the International Control Commission to *keep the peace* in Vietnam!

THE FINAL CONCLUSION

Ralph Schoenman

What is a war crime? That question has been put to me many times over recent years by fellow Americans and, I might say, by fellow Englishmen, amongst whom I have lived for eight years. "Propaganda" is the instinctive response of those in the West confronted with the facts of the war waged by the United States against the Vietnamese Revolution. It is a curious response.

I arrived in Vietnam on February 21, sent by Bertrand Russell, to acquire firsthand data in support of David Mitchell's stand against the draft, in support of his clear call for resistance by Americans to the use of poison gas, poison chemicals, torture and the bombings of hospitals. Who, in his heart, can say that these are not realities with which we have lived for several years? The American mass media themselves have unself-consciously documented a war of atrocity and oppression, an experimental war. I traveled in five of the provinces during bombardment and I saw the result of 650 sorties per week, south of Thanh Hoa, in Ha Tay, Nam Ha, Ninh Binh and the surrounds of Hanoi. We traveled by night, a team of eight, including doctors and photographers. The radio carried the poems continually recited by Vietnamese in a living oral tradition, applying recitative to the experience of recent days. The poetry of Vietnam and its people.

In village after village, I listened to the accounts of the survivors and surveyed the results of napalm. One afternoon, rummaging in the rubble of a school, I picked out stained pages from the lesson book of a twelve-year-old Vietnamese child:
Page 2: "The Little Korean Child --
a poem composed by a Vietnamese poet

at the time of the Korean War:

'Where is your mother?
There is nobody around to ask.
Everywhere there are but fire and
smoke.'"

Page 9: "Memories

'I am losing my father. I am losing my mother.' (Excerpts from the story of a young girl.)"

Page 15: "The last days of Huang Van Thu (executed by the French in the early forties)"

Page 1: "Our hands can do everything."

Page 5: "Land Reclamation Song"

Page 24: "How he faced the firing squad."

Page 19: "Grammar: subordinate clauses, auxiliary verbs"

Page 10: "Human efforts can turn arid soil into rice."

On this village and school were dropped thousand pound bombs and lazy-dogs. At another part of the village I picked up a lazy-dog bomb. This was Van Dinh hamlet, Van Hon village, Thieu Hon district, February 26, 1966. A lazy-dog contains 250 slivers of razor-sharp steel. There are forty such bombs in a cylinder. 10,000 pieces of steel in a sudden storm of hail, lacerating anyone exposed or seeking shelter from the half-ton bombs. 10,000 cylinders of lazy-dog bombs have fallen on Thanh Hoa province since April, 1965. 1,281 rockets have been used. 37 guided missiles have been launched against villages in Thanh Hua province. 3,000 bombs alone were dropped on Ham Rong bridge, which still stands. Roads, means of communication, schools, hospitals, the tuberculosis clinic, sanatoria and old-age rest houses have been bombed in

Thanh Hua province. I visited all.

"Usually, my friends go to school every day. We like to sing 'Ha Tinh Quang Binh.' My friends are Nhung, Ky, Chau, Nguyen. They are thirteen, twelve, fourteen, twelve. They are all girls. I have a friend who is a boy, named Liem. He was thirteen. My friend Ky liked to play. She would say: 'You go first. You go quickly, or I will step on your heel.'" (Rhymes in Vietnamese.)
"When the bombs fell I saw Ky's bowel and intestine come out of her body. Her head blew away. Her arm and leg blew away. Nhung was buried alive and was dug out dead. Chau's teeth were broken by stones which shattered them. Nguyen was buried alive. Liem was beheaded. My friend Phuong laughs sometimes; cries; speaks without knowing what she says; she screams; she is twelve. I have pains in my spine. Canh and Khoa had their chests crushed.

"When I become a grown-up I would like to be a teacher. I would like to ask you, uncle, to convey my best wishes of good health to my American small friends."

Nguyen Thai Mao was recently twelve. She has been strafed frequently on the way to school. She spoke of a bombing attack on her village on February 9 of this year. Her teacher, a young man of 24, named Thai Van Nham:

"Fragments of clothing, books and furniture flew so high that all in the vicinity knew the school was bombed. Students were blasted. Many were buried in the earth. I was among those buried alive. I was dug out later and was brought to consciousness. There was nothing left but a bomb crater, 55 feet

wide and 21 feet deep. Everything was levelled. Parts of the children were protruding from the earth. We found their heads twenty yards away. Their bowels and intestines were scattered everywhere. Two of my children were spattered on a palm tree and hung from it. Children were pressed to the trench walls. Blood filled the trenches. Children clutched their books tightly to their chests. The books were smeared in blood and ink. Some of them could speak a little when dug out. Then blood shot from their mouths, due to their crushed organs and they died. One little girl, Hoang Thai Nha, twelve, could only be recognized and identified by her rubber shoes. Six of the children were too mutilated to be recognizable to the parents. One dug out became conscious and asked how many of her friends died before haemorrhaging. Little Hung's body was found on top of unfinished poems he had written, along with a notebook of paintings. He had aspired to be a poet, painter and composer. His poems paintings and songs are all signed: 'Composer, Dinh Hung.' He was thirteen."

The bombing of Huong Phuc school on February 9 is one event: a daily event for the past fourteen months in Vietnam. For Vietnam, 650 sorties per week with tonnages in excess of those used during the Second World War, with napalm and fragmentation bombs, the targets and the victims are the population at large. There are no other targets. The population knows that the United States wishes to impose so ghastly a price in national suffering that the will to resist will be broken. The will to resist is like ozone after a bombing storm in Vietnam. In every village, production teams work round the clock to increase food output. Militia units, under the command of nineteen-year-old girls, mount the most exposed positions to fire at

diving jets with rifles and what amount to little more than muskets. Old machine guns are mounted on the very bridges subject to attack. The militia do not take shelter. When American planes are at the climax of their dive, bullets fly from thousands of rifles and machine guns and the whole population is in arms, and everyone who can hold a rifle is firing one.

Sanatorium Bombed

The destruction of Thanh Hoa Tuberculosis sanatorium is a study in horror: the patients strafed as they ran, many haemorrhaging as they carried those too weak to escape. Red Cross flags had been flying, but everything was destroyed. Patients, X-ray machines, medicines -- everything. Three successive waves of attacks on separate days were launched in case any survivors sheltered in the ruins. The old-age and invalid home in Thanh Hoa was leveled. It is a scene of vast craters, filled with water, and the shells of buildings. Mosaics litter the ground -- lovely pieces of the floor and walls in soft watercolour design. Out of one crater I picked the tattered pages of books which had once been part of the old-age home library. Here, those Vietnamese who had lived through three generations of struggle against the Japanese, the French and the Americans had retired in the ill health of old age to rest. Many of them were feeble through years of brutal labor before the victory of Dien Bien Phu released them from feudalism. Even in their old age, the fruits of their struggle were denied them, and like the children of the schools, their soft bodies were smashed and splattered. One very famous hero of the resistance to France, recuperating from severe wounds, went insane in this final attack.

No Negotiations ?

But the Vietnamese have endured more, for they have fought from the forest since 1940, and the

Resistance was unable to enter the villages until the French were driven out. The population is locked together with that bond of profound self-esteem and mutual regard which a child of the West has never had, and cannot understand without encountering it. Their self-respect is based upon the dedication they see around them. All struggle, all sacrifice and what we understand by heroism comprise the minutiae of everyday existence.

Just as a peace mission from Mussolini would have been absurd to any Englishman in 1940, and just as negotiations with Hitler while the bombs fell on London and Coventry would have been treated as an insult to the self-respect and intelligence of every Englishman, so to the Vietnamese the suggestion that they must negotiate with the United States, while American troops are in occupation of their country, is but another expression of Western arrogance and racism. It does not matter whether the Communist Party, U.S.A., the Soviet Union or President Johnson request them to betray their struggle, the response will be much the same. They have negotiated once in 1954 when they abandoned half of their country, having liberated it, for the sake of international considerations which proved to be illusory and which led to twelve years of horror. When Ho Chi Minh says: We will go on another five, ten, fifteen, or twenty years, if necessary, he is not indulging in rhetoric. The Vietnamese resistance will not be ended. The Vietnamese war will be ended when the American resistance has made it impossible for it to go on.

Talks with Ho Chi Minh

In my talks with Ho Chi Minh and Pham Van Dong, we discussed mainly the state of awareness in the West and the quality and level of understanding of Western resistance to American Imperialism. I saw the prime minister at seven in the morning following the night of my arrival. The warmth and the

comradeship which were shown me moved me, because I retained the terrible feeling that I was an American, moving amongst the victims of the crimes of my government and obliging them to repeat for me their everyday experience, so I might write it down. Pham Van Dong knows the West, our culture and our history. Ho Chi Minh is at home in the streets of London, New York and Paris.

Ho Chi Minh

Ho Chi Minh has been called the George Washington of Vietnam, "the nearest thing to a national hero," according to Halberstam of the *N.Y. Times*. *In* 1946 Ho Chi Minh was unanimously elected president of Vietnam by a national assembly that included many anti-Communists. Haley of the *Times* wrote: "There was no doubt in the mind of anyone—Frenchman, Annamite or neutral observer—as to the hold Ho Chi Minh had on the people." In February 1966, Lippmann said Ho was "the one national leader" of all Vietnam.

In 1940, England was under the Blitz. To the English, this was their finest hour, because, after a few months of bombing of a few cities the expectation on the part of others that the great power of Germany would intimidate the British was not fulfilled. The English were proud and indignant at the expectation that they would yield. They had not fought for 25 years against three vast and powerful invaders. The English countryside was not razed with chemicals and gas. The cities had not been saturated with jelly-gasoline. An occupying army had not placed 59 percent of the rural population in forced labour camps. One hundred million pieces of razor-sharp steel had not rained on heavily populated East Anglia. No, only a few cities were bombed for a few months, but Churchill said: "We will fight them on the beaches. We will fight them in the streets. We

will fight them with curbstones. We will fight them with our bare hands. We will never surrender."

President Ho Chi Minh and Prime Minister Pham Van Dong are life-long revolutionary leaders, internationalists, literally men of the world. They know our history. What is it that makes such resistance and such sentiments permissable for Englishmen after a few months of bombing, but impermissable for an agrarian people withstanding the invasion and atrocity of the United States of America? The answer is a simple answer. I feel it passionately since my return to the West. The answer is racism. The racism of imperialism, which is in the air we breathe.

More Vietnamese died between 1954 and 1959, the years of "peace," than in the years 1960 to 1966, the years of popular resistance in the south and American bombardments in the north. But the Vietnamese, from the president and prime minister to the villagers who spoke to me of their sufferings, are patient and exceedingly gentle. Nothing was so harrowing as their gentleness.

Rebirth of Conscience

They know that our people have been corrupted. Americans and Europeans have been the beneficiaries of the exploitation against which the people of Vietnam struggle. Even while they expect little from us, they are moved and grateful for the little they receive, for they see the birth of an American resistance as one of the rewards for their sacrifice. An American emergence and an American consciousness of our place in the world and our relationship to our rulers will be the gift of the people of Vietnam to the people of the United States.

It would be a mistake to think that we do them any favour, and the pity of the horror which has been borne by Vietnam is not a pity deserved by

the Vietnamese. There is nothing pitiful about them. In their very suffering they are heroic, because it is not passivity which marks them, but sacrifice and resistance.

The pity lies in the cruel historic reality which renders the American people apathetic and acquiescent as this horror is perpetrated in their name.

I feel certain that the American emergence of the next generation, and the generation after that, will trace its origins to the quarter-century Revolution in Vietnam: that great and liberating event to which we owe more than solidarity.

CANADIANS IN U.S. FORCES WRITE VIET NAM LETTERS

March 13, 1966

Hi,

....There has been quite a bit of action here lately. They suspect there are 600 V.C. in this area. The V.C. are just starting to show themselves. We have killed and captured quite a few. There are some real unpleasant experiences here, but I guess they have to be done.

Right now, I sort of feel sorry for these people, because a lot of them are women and little kids, and they are being killed. Somehow they just show up at the wrong time, and then they end up in a crossfire between us and the V.C. I really feel sorry for the little kids. Most of them are really cute.

Most of the guys start to hate them after a while because a lot of them are V.C. sympathizers. That is, most of the old people. The kids don't understand, I guess....

March 27, 1966

....Things are not very good over here right now. The people are holding anti-American demonstrations and all. Went into town yesterday riding shot-gun on a truck and they threw bricks and stones at us and broke the truck window. It sure made me cross. We haven't had any liberty for 3 weeks now and may not again for a long time. We lost two of our guys last night while riding shot-gun. Its a hard type of war as one never knows from hour to hour who the enemy are....

Your loving son,
Eddie.

from

CANADA MONTH.

June 1966

VIETNAM: History, Documents and Opinions on a Major World Crisis, Gettleman, Ed., $1.00

-A recently published anthology which is a must for opponents of the Vietnam war. The bulk of Gettleman's collection is given over to articles and documents which discuss the historical origins of the present conflict. The survey is taken from source materials such as reports of the International Control Commission and the Geneva Agreements.

Included are the writings and views of Lyndon Johnson, Ho Chi Min, Diem, J.F. Kennedy, Chou En-lai, John Foster Dulles, Eisenhower, Wayne Morse, Hans Morgenthau, David Halberstam, Wesley R. Fishel, Bernard Fall, I.F. Stone, and Robert Scheer.

CANADA/VIETNAM NEWSLETTER

Box 2352 Stn."D"Ottawa 12 issues$1.00

The Canada/Vietnam Newsletter is published by the Ottawa Committee to End the War in Vietnam and is supported by various Vietnam Committees across the country including the Vancouver VDC.

It is the product of a conference held in Ottawa following the March 26 demonstration there. We have reprinted an article over the masthead of the Newsletter entitled "Blood Money Reward for Canada's Complicity.

The Newsletter urgently needs funds and subs and we encourage all our supporters to help them out.

CANADA'S ROLE IN VIETNAM

Farley Mowat .25

This outstanding Canadian author, an articulate advocate of Canada playing an independent role in the world, speaks his views on Canada's complicity in the Vietnam war. He firmly states that the Canadian government will not express the opposition of Canadians to the war and that "we must therefore act individually and declare, publically and privately that the United States is guilty of a great crime against mankind."

Summing up he states: "The United States is the aggressor in North Vietnam. It is an invader and occupying power in South Vietnam. It is guilty of the killing of many thousands of Vietnamese, and is guilty of the destruction of the way of life, homes and means of support of many tens of thousands of this Asian people... In short, its actions in Vietnam are totally reprehensible, utterly inexcusable, and completely abhorrent to anyone who pretends to any of the virtues of civilization."

IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL .15

Caroline Jenness VS NEGOTIATIONS

This pamphlet is based on a discussion and debate which has been absorbing the attention of the whole movement in the United States against the war in Vietnam: should the movement base itself on the demand for withdrawal of American troops or on the demand for negotiations.

Central to this debate is the issue of self-determination for Vietnam. Jenness takes up this issue in the form of answering seven basic questions, arguing that only the call for withdrawal recognizes Vietnam's right to self-determination. The pamphlet is published by the Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter.

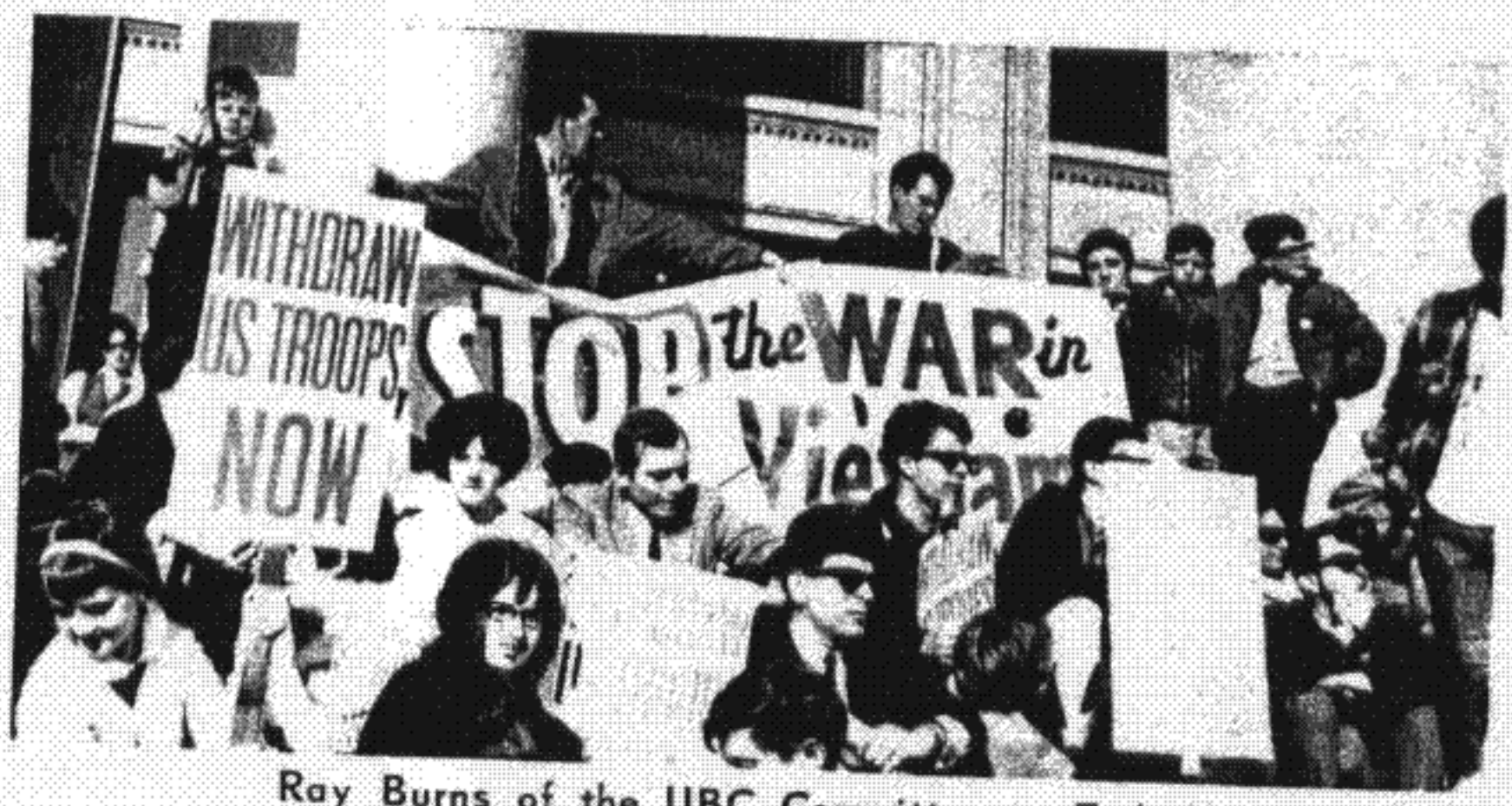
Rally on Parliament Hill, March 26.

End Vietnam War — No More Hiroshimas

RALLY AT THE PEACE ARCH

CANADIAN-
U.S. BORDER

— SAT. AUG. 6 — 1:00 P.M. —



Ray Burns of the UBC Committee to End the War in Vietnam, speaking at the March 26 rally in Vancouver.

THE VANCOUVER
VIET NAM
DAY COMMITTEE

441 SEYMOUR ST. ROOM 9

685—2910

BUILD THE MOVEMENT IN CANADA

The Vancouver Vietnam Day Committee was initiated by the UBC VDC, the student committee that played a major role in the March 26 International Days of Protest march in Vancouver. It is a membership committee which opposes Canadian complicity in the Vietnam war and defends the right of self determination for the people of Vietnam by calling for the unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops.

Our objective is to organize educational and protest actions in Vancouver that will advance these ends.

AGAINST THE WAR IN VIETNAM

withdraw u.s. troops

vietnam for the vietnamese

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WORKERS VANGUARD
1 Cumberland Street, Toronto 5

July, 1966
12 issues, $1.00

Russell Urges Americans to Oppose the War in Vietnam

Forming Int'l Tribunal to try Pres. Johnson as War Criminal

I appeal to you, citizens of America, as a person concerned with liberty and social justice. Many of you will feel that your country has served these ideals and, indeed, the United States possesses a revolutionary tradition which, in its origins, was true to the struggle for human liberty and for social equality. It is this tradition which has been traduced by the few who rule the United States today.

Many of you may not be fully aware of the extent to which your country is controlled by industrialists who depend for their power partly upon great economic holdings in all parts of the world. The United States today controls over sixty per cent of the world's natural resources, although it contains only six per cent of the world's population. The minerals and produce of vast areas of the planet are possessed by a handful of men.

I ask you to consider the words of your own leaders, who sometimes reveal the exploitation they have practised. The *New York Times* of February 12, 1950 said:

> **"Indo-China is a prize worth a large gamble. In the North are exportable tin, tungsten, manganese, coal, lumber and rice; rubber, tea, pepper and hides. Even before World War II Indo-China yielded dividends estimated at 300 million dollars per year."**

One year later, an adviser to the United States State Department said the following:

> **"We have only partially exploited Southeast Asia's resources. Nevertheless, Southeast Asia supplied 90 per cent of the world's crude rubber, 60 per cent of its tin and 80 per cent of its copra and coconut oil. It has sizeable quantities of sugar, tea, coffee, tobacco, sisal, fruits, spices, natural resins and gums, petroleum, iron ore and bauxite.**

And in 1953, while the French were still in Vietnam fighting with American backing, President Eisenhower stated:

> **"Now let us assume we lost Indo-China. If Indo-China goes, the tin and tungsten we so greatly value would cease coming. We are after the cheapest way to prevent the occurrence of something terrible — the loss of our ability to get what we want from the riches of the Indo-Chinese territory and from Southeast Asia."**

Vietnam Struggle like yours of '76

This makes clear that the war in Vietnam is a war like that waged by the Germans in Eastern Europe. It is a war designed to protect the continued control over the wealth of the region by American capitalists. When we consider that the fantastic sums of money spent on armament are awarded in contracts to the industries on whose boards of directors sit the generals who demand the weapons, we can see that the military and large industry have formed an interlocking alliance for their own profit.

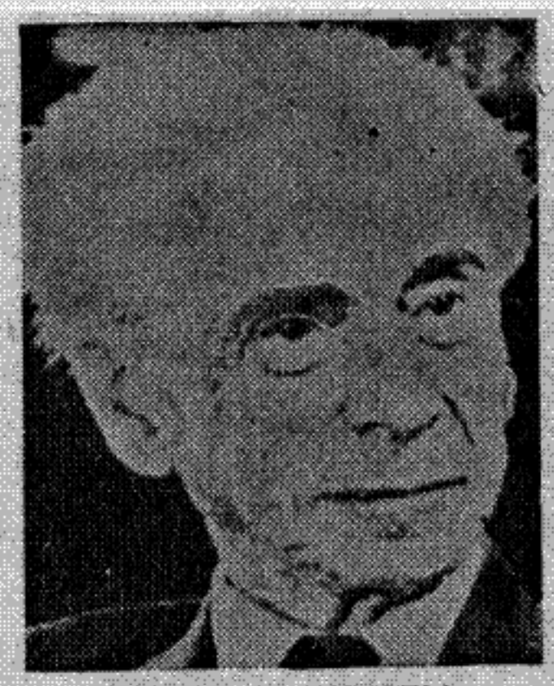
The truth is that the Vietnamese popular resistance is just like the American revolutionary resistance to the British, who controlled the economic and political life of the American colonies in the eighteenth century. Vietnamese resistance is like the resistance of the French Maquis, the Yugoslav partisans and the guerrillas of Norway and Denmark to the Nazi occupation. That is why a small peasant people are able to hold down a vast army of the most powerful industrial nation on earth.

I appeal to you to consider what has been done to the people of Vietnam by the United States Government. Can you, in your hearts, justify the use of poison chemicals and gas, the saturation bombing of the entire country with jelly-gasoline and phosphorus? Although the American Press lies about this, the documentary evidence concerning the nature of these gases and chemicals is overwhelming. They are poisonous and they are fatal. Napalm and phosphorus burn until the victim is reduced to a bubbling mass. The United States has also used weapons like the lazy dog, which is a bomb containing ten thousand slivers of razor-sharp steel. These razor darts slice to ribbons the villagers upon whom these weapons of sheer evil are constantly used. In one province of North Vietnam, the most densely populated, one hundred million slivers of razor-sharp steel have fallen in a period of thirteen months.

It is even more revealing and terrible that more Vietnamese died during the reign of Diem, from 1954 to 1960, than since 1960, when the Vietnamese partisans took up armed resistance to the American occupation in the South. What the papers have called the "Vietcong" is, in fact, a broad alliance, like the popular fronts of Europe, including all political views ranging from Catholics to Communists. The National Liberation Front has the most ardent support of the people and only the wilfully blind will fail to see this.

Do you know that eight million Vietnamese were placed in internment camps under conditions of forced labor, with barbed wire and armed patrols? Do you know that this was done on the direction of the United States Government and that torture and brutal murder were a continuous feature of life in these camps? Are you aware that the gases and chemicals which have been used for five years in Vietnam blind, paralyze, asphyxiate, cause convulsions and result in unbearable death?

Bertrand Russell is one of the most eminent men of our times. In his youth he became celebrated as a mathematician with the publication, in collaboration with A. N. Whitehead, of Principia Mathematica. Subsequently he became best known as a philosopher. In his later years he has participated extensively in political affairs. He won the Nobel prize for Literature in 1950.



BERTRAND RUSSELL

Try to imagine what it would mean if an enemy were bombing the United States and occupied it for twelve years. How would you feel if a foreign power had saturated New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, St. Louis, San Francisco and Miami with jelly-gasoline, phosphorus and lazy dogs? What would you do if an occupying army used these toxic gases and chemicals in every town and hamlet they entered? Can you really think that the American people would welcome so savage an aggressor? The fact is that everywhere in the world

→ p. 2

from p. 1

people have come to see the men who control the United States Government as brutal bullies, acting in their own economic interests and exterminating any people foolhardy enough to struggle against this naked exploitation and aggression.

When the United States began its war against the Vietnamese, after having paid for all of the French war against the same people, the U.S. Defence Department owned property valued at 160 billion dollars. This value has since doubled. The U.S. Defence Department is the world's largest organization, owning 32 million acres in the United States and millions more in foreign countries. By now, more than 75 cents out of every hundred are spent on present wars and preparation for future war. Billions of dollars are placed in the pockets of the U.S. military, thereby giving the Pentagon economic power affecting every facet of American life.

Military assets in the United States are three times as great as the combined assets of U.S. Steel, Metropolitan Life Insurance, American Telephone and Telegraph, General Motors and Standard Oil. The Defence Department employs three times the number of people working in all these great world corporations. The billions of dollars in military contracts are provided by the Pentagon and fulfilled by large industry. By 1960, 21 billion dollars were spent on military goods. Of this colossal sum, 7½ billion were divided amongst ten corporations and five corporations received nearly one billion dollars each.

I ask you to consider carefully that in the executive offices of these same corporations there are 1,400 army officers, including 261 generals and officers of flag rank. General Dynamics has 187 officers, 27 generals and admirals and the former Secretary of the Army on its payroll. This is a ruling caste, which stays in power no matter who is elected to nominal public office, and every President finds himself obliged to serve the interests of this all-powerful group. Thus, American democracy has been emptied of life and meaning because the people cannot remove the real men who rule them.

U.S. Becoming a Warfare State

It is this concentration of power which makes it necessary for the Pentagon and big industry to continue the arms race for its own sake. The sub-contracts they award to smaller industries and war contractors involve every American city and, thus, affect the jobs of millions of people.

Four million work for the Defence Department. Its payroll is twelve billion dollars, twice that of the U.S. automobile industry. A further four million work directly in arms industries. In many cities military production accounts for as much as 80 per cent of all manufacturing jobs. Over 50 per cent of the gross national product of the United States is devoted to military spending. This vast military system covers the world with over 3,000 military bases, for the simple purpose of protecting the same empire which was described so clearly in the statements of President Eisenhower, the State Department adviser and the *New York Times* which I mentioned earlier to you. From Vietnam to the Dominican Republic, from the Middle East to the Congo, the economic interests of a few big corporations linked to the arms industry and the military itself determine what happens to American lives. It is on their orders that the United States invades and oppresses starving and helpless people.

Yet, despite the immense wealth of the United States, despite the fact that with only six per cent of the world's people, approaching two-thirds of the world's resources are in its possession, despite the control over the world's oil, cobalt, tungsten, iron ore, rubber and other vital resources, despite the vast billions of profits that are gained by a few American corporations at the cost of mass starvation amongst the peoples of the world, despite all this, 66 million Americans live at poverty level. The cities of America are covered in slums. The poor carry the burden of taxation and the fighting of colonial and aggressive wars.

I am asking all of you to make an intellectual connection between events which occur daily around you, to try to see clearly the system which has taken control of the United States and perverted its institutional life into a grotesque arsenal for a world empire. It is the vast military machine, the great industrial combines and their intelligence agencies which are regarded by the people of three whole continents as their main enemy in life and the source of their misery and hunger. If we examine the governments which depend for their existence upon American military force, we shall always find regimes which support the rich, the landlords and the big capitalists. This is true in Brazil, in Peru, in Venezuela, in Thailand, in South Korea, in Japan. It is true the world over.

The result of this is that in order to suppress a national revolution, such as the great historic uprising of the Vietnamese people, the United States is obliged to behave as the Japanese behaved in Southeast Asia and the Nazis behaved in Eastern Europe. This is literally true. The concentration camps to which I have referred, and which held nearly sixty per cent of the rural population of South Vietnam, were scenes of torture, massacre and mass burial. The special experimental weapons, like the gas and chemicals and jelly-gasoline, are as horrible as anything used by the Nazis during the Second World War.

It is true that the Nazis systematically exterminated the Jews and the United States has not yet done anything comparable in Vietnam. With the exception of the extermination of the Jews, however, everything that the Germans did in Eastern Europe has been repeated by the United States in Vietnam on a scale which is larger and with an efficiency which is more terrible and more complete.

In violation of solemn international agreements signed by American Presidents and ratified by the American Congress, this Johnson Government has committed war crimes, crimes against humanity and crimes against the peace. It has committed these crimes because the Johnson Government exists to preserve the economic exploitation and the military domination of subject peoples by U.S. industrial magnates and their military arm. The Central Intelligence Agency, which has a budget fifteen times larger than all the diplomatic activity of the United States, is involved in the assassination of heads of state, and plots against independent governments. This sinister activity is designed to destroy the leadership and the organization of peoples who are struggling to free themselves from the stranglehold of American economic and political domination.

United States' militarism is inseparable from that same predatory capitalism which reduced the American people themselves to poverty within the living memory of this generation. The same essential motives have led to barbarous and atrocious crimes on a great scale in Vietnam.

War Crimes Tribunal to hear Evidence

I have called on intellectuals and eminent independent men and women from all parts of the world to join in an international War Crimes Tribunal which will hear evidence concerning the crimes of the U.S. Government in Vietnam. You will remember that Germans were considered guilty if they acquiesced in and accepted the crimes of their government. Nobody considered it a sufficient excuse for Germans to say that they knew about the gas chambers and the concentration camps, the torture and the mutilation, but were unable to stop it. I appeal to you as a human being to human beings. Remember your humanity and your own self-respect. The war against the people of Vietnam is barbaric. It is an aggressive war of conquest.

During the American War of Independence, no one had to tell Americans the purpose of their struggle or conscript them against their will. Nor was it necessary for American soldiers to go ten thousand miles to another country. In the American revolutionary war against foreign troops Americans fought in fields and forests although they were in rags and the occupying army was the strongest of the day. Americans fought the occupier, although they were hungry and poor, and they fought them house by house.

In that war of liberation, the American revolutionaries were called terrorists and the colonial power was the one

(see overleaf) p. 3

RUSSELL'S APPEAL TO AMERICANS

(from overleaf) - p.3

labelling them rebels and rabble. American national heroes responded with words such as Nathan Hale's and Patrick Henry's. The sentiment, "Give me liberty or give me death", inspired their struggle, just as it inspires the Vietnamese resistance to United States' aggression and occupation. The Nathan Hales and Patrick Henrys of Vietnam are not the United States army. Those who display heroism, love of country and that deep belief in freedom and justice which inspired the American people in 1776 are today the people of Vietnam, fighting under the revolutionary leadership of their National Liberation Front.

And so the American people are to be used as cannon-fodder by those who exploit not only the Vietnamese but the people of the United States themselves. It is Americans who have been killing Vietnamese, attacking villages, occupying cities, using gas and chemicals, bombing their schools and hospitals — all this to protect the profits of American capitalism. The men who conscript the soldiers are the same men who sign the military contracts in their own benefit. They are the same men who send American soldiers to Vietnam as company cops, protecting stolen property.

So it is that the real struggle for freedom and democracy is inside the United States itself, against the usurpers of American society. I have no doubt that the American people would respond just as the Vietnamese have responded if the United States were invaded and subjected to the atrocities and tortures which the United States army and Government have inflicted on the Vietnamese.

The American protest movement, which has inspired people all over the world, is the only true spokesman for American concern for individual liberty and social justice. The battlefront for freedom is in Washington, in the struggle against the war criminals—Johnson, Rusk and McNamara—who have degraded the United States and its citizens. Indeed, they have stolen the United States from its people and made the name of a great country stink in the nostrils of people the world over.

This is the harsh truth, and it is a truth which is affecting the daily lives of Americans irrevocably and increasingly. There is no looking the other way. There is no pretending that the war crimes are not occurring, that the gas and chemicals do not exist, that the torture and napalm have not been used, that the Vietnamese have not been slaughtered by American soldiers and American bombs. There is no dignity without the courage to examine this evil and oppose it. There is no solution for the American crisis short of the emancipation of the American people themselves from these barbarous men who speak in their name and defile a great people by doing so.

The American people, however, are becoming alert and are showing that same determination and courage which the Vietnamese have so movingly displayed. The Negro struggle in Harlem, Watts and the American South, the resistance of the American students, the increasing distaste for this war shown by the American people at large, give hope to all mankind that the day when greedy and brutal men can deceive and abuse the American nation is drawing to a close.

My appeal to Americans is made with full awareness that the rulers of the United States have spared no device in propaganda to hide from the American people the ugly face of their rulers and the truth about their behavior. Abraham Lincoln gave expression to the hope that a people, once aroused, can be deceived no longer. All Americans who know from their own experience and from that of their closest relatives what has been done in Vietnam should come forward now. Speak the truth and take your stand alongside your brothers throughout the world. Struggle for an America free of murderous production, free of war criminals, free of exploitation and free of the hatred of subject peoples.

These peoples look to the ordinary people of the United States to understand their plight and to answer their struggle with an American resistance capable of making the United States again a citadel of individual liberty and social justice. The international War Crimes Tribunal is itself an appeal to the conscience of the American people, our allies in a common cause.

The War Crimes Tribunal is under urgent preparation now. I am approaching eminent jurists, literary figures and men of public affairs in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the United States itself. Vietnamese victims of this war will give evidence. Full scientific data concerning the chemicals used, their properties and their effects will be documented. Eye-witnesses will describe what they have seen and scientists will be invited to examine the exhibits in the possession of the Tribunal. The proceedings will be tape-recorded and the full evidence will be published. There will be documentary film material concerning the witnesses and their evidence.

U.S. Gov't Will Be Brought to Justice

We aim to provide the most exhaustive portrayal of what has happened to the people of Vietnam. We intend that the peoples of the world shall be aroused as never before, the better to prevent the repetition of this tragedy elsewhere. Just as in the case of Spain, Vietnam is a barbarous rehearsal. It is our intention that neither the bona fides nor the authenticity of this Tribunal will be susceptible to challenge from those who have so much to hide.

President Johnson, Dean Rusk, Robert McNamara, Henry Cabot Lodge, General Westmoreland and their fellow criminals will be brought before a wider justice than they recognize and a more profound condemnation than they are equipped to understand.

18 June, 1966.

U.S. Atrocities in Vietnam, Testimony of an American

The following is a portion of the report that Ralph Schoenman, Bertrand Russell's secretary, has written on his visit to Vietnam. The full text appeared in the June 10 issue of World Outlook.

. . . I arrived in Vietnam on February 21 . . . I travelled in five of the provinces during bombardment and I saw the result of 650 sorties per week, south of Thanh Hoa, in Hay Tay, Nam Ha, Ninh Binh and the surrounds of Hanoi. We travelled by night, a team of eight, including doctors and photographers . . . In village after village I listened to the accounts of the survivors and surveyed the results of napalm . . .

On this village and school were dropped thousand-pound bombs and lazy dogs. At another part of the village I picked up a lazy-dog bomb. This was Van Dinh hamlet, Van Hon village, Thieu Hon district, February 26, 1966. 10,000 cylinders of lazy-dog bombs have fallen on Thanh Hoa province since April, 1965. 1,281 rockets have been used. 37 guided missiles have been launched against villages in Thanh Hua province. 3,000 bombs alone were dropped on Ham Rong bridge, which still stands. Roads, means of communication, schools, hospitals, the tuberculosis clinic, sanatoria and old-age rest houses have been bombed in Thanh Hua province. I visited all.

. . . a teacher, a young man of 24, named Thai Van Nham:

"Fragments of clothing, books and furniture flew so high that all in the vicinity knew the school was bombed. Students were blasted. Many were buried in the earth. I was among those buried alive. I was dug out later and was brought to consciousness. There was nothing left but a bomb crater, 55 feet wide and 21 feet deep. Everything was levelled. Parts of the children were protruding from the earth. We found their heads twenty yards away. Their bowels and intestines were scattered everywhere. Two of my children were spattered on a palm tree and hung from it. Children were pressed to the trench walls. Blood filled the trenches. Children clutched their books tightly to their chests. The books were smeared in blood and ink. Some of them could speak a little when dug out. Then blood shot from their mouths, due to their crushed organs and they died. One little girl, Hoang Thai Nha, twelve, could only be recognized and identified by her rubber shoes. Six of the children were too mutilated to be recognizable to the parents. One dug out became conscious and asked how many of her friends died before haemorrhaging. Little Hung's body was found on top of unfinished poems he had written, along with a notebook of paintings. He had aspired to be a poet, painter and composer. His poems, paintings and songs are all signed: 'Composer, Dinh Hung.' He was thirteen."

The bombing of Huong Phuc school on February 9 is one event: a daily event for the past fourteen months in Vietnam. For Vietnam, 650 sorties per week with tonnages in excess of those used during the Second World War, with napalm and fragmentation bombs, **the targets and the victims are the population at large.** There are no other targets. The population knows that the United States wishes to impose so ghastly a price in national suffering that the will to resist will be broken . . .

But the Vietnamese have endured more, for they have fought from the forests since 1940, and the Resistance was unable to enter the villages until the French were driven out. The population is locked together with that bond of profound self-esteem and mutual regard which a child of the West has never had, and cannot understand without encountering it. Their self-respect is based upon the dedication they see around them. All struggle, all sacrifice and what we understand by heroism comprise the minutiae of everyday existence.

Just as a peace mission from Mussolini would have been absurd to any Englishman in 1940, and just as negotiations with Hitler while the bombs fell on London and Coventry would have been treated as an insult to the self-respect and intelligence of every Englishman, so to the Vietnamese the suggestion that they must negotiate with the United States, while American troops are in occupation of their country, is but another expression of Western arrogance and racism. It does not matter whether the Communist party, U.S.A,. the Soviet Union or President Johnson request them to betray their struggle, the response will be much the same. They have negotiated once in 1954 when they abandoned half of their country, having liberated it, for the sake of international considerations which proved to be illusory and which led to twelve years of horror. When Ho Chi Minh says: We will go on another five, ten, fifteen or twenty years, if necessary, he is not indulging in rhetoric. The Vietnamese resistance will not be ended. The Vietnamese war will be ended when the American resistance has made it impossible for it to go on . . .

In 1940, England was under the Blitz. To the English, this was their finest hour, because, after a few months of bombing of a few cities the expectation on the part of others that the great power of Germany would intimidate the British was not fulfilled. The English were proud and indignant at the expectation that they would yield. They had not fought for 25 years against three vast and powerful invaders. The English countryside was not razed

THE ENEMY: A U.S. Airborne Brigade captain leads away a blindfolded South Vietnamese boy picked up in an area where U.S. forces were looking for guerrillas.

with chemicals and gas. The cities had not been saturated with jelly-gasoline. An occupying army had not placed 59 percent of the rural population in forced labor camps. One hundred million pieces of razor-sharp steel had not rained on heavily populated East Anglia. No, only a few cities were bombed for a few months, but Churchill said: "We will fight them on the beaches. We will fight them in the streets. We will fight them with curbstones. We will fight them with our bare hands. We will never surrender."

. . . Even while they expect little from us, they are moved and grateful for the little they receive, for they see the birth of an American resistance as one of the rewards for their sacrifice. An American emergence and an American consciousness of our place in the world and our relationship to our rulers will be the gift of the people of Vietnam to the people of the United States.

It would be a mistake to think that we do them any favour, and the pity of the horror which has been borne by Vietnam is not a pity deserved by the Vietnamese. There is nothing pitiful about them. In their very suffering they are heroic, because it is not passivity which marks them, but sacrifice and resistance. The pity lies in the cruel historic reality which renders the American people apathetic and acquiescent as this horror is perpetrated in their name.

I feel certain that the American emergence of the next generation, and the generation after that, will trace its origins to the quarter-century Revolution in Vietnam: that great and liberating event to which we owe more than solidarity.

Vanguard Editors propose to

Indict Pearson for War Crimes

In this issue the Editors of *Workers Vanguard* have published Bertrand Russell's appeal to the people of the United States and the announcement of his intention to indict the heads of the U.S. government before an International War Crimes Tribunal. We have done so not only because it is a document of world-wide interest, but because we think that it reveals the enormity and the monstrousness of the crimes that the Pearson governments, and the Diefenbaker government before that, have been committing in the name of the Canadian people.

We intend to submit to the War Crimes Tribunal of eminent jurists, literary figures and men of public affairs from many lands, that Mr. Russell is preparing, at a time suitable to them, a detailed indictment of the Canadian government for its shameless collusion with the heads of the U.S. government and the rulers of United States in their criminal actions against the peoples of Vietnam.

We will charge that the Canadian government has used and is continuing to use its position on the International Control Commission (whose declared purpose is the implementing of the 1954 Geneva Accords), in a fully conscious and premeditated way, with the aim of covering up the criminal deeds of Washington. We will show that Canadian officials, under the instructions of Canadian governments have attempted to hide, cynically deny, and then shamelessly justify every U.S. violation of the Accords and all the aggressions against the rights of the Vietnamese people, which now threaten mankind with nuclear disaster.

We will document how Canadian government officials have used the fact that they head an influential and independent state to "run interference" for President Johnson and his cohorts at every turn in the course of their deepening of their bestial genocidal war; how they have used the good will and respect that other nations have held for Canada to cover up the crimes being committed by the men of Washington, to deceive and to mollify all those who have sought to in any way protest or to slow down or to stop the mad course of the men of Washington.

We will show that the latest escalation — the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, which demolishes all pretence of peace-seeking, and is a declaration of complete military triumph over the Vietnamese people — was a conspiracy between the men of Washington and of Ottawa. We will show how the late June visit of Ottawa's special envoy, Chester Ronning, under the guise of a peace-seeking mission was planned from the very start, when fail it must, to serve President Johnson, Mr. Bundy and Mr. Ball, as justification for the criminal widening of the war.

We will document how the men of Ottawa, continuing their mock pretence of neutrality, have become merchants of death, how they have turned Canada into a veritable arsenal for the manufacture of the most horrendous materials that are being daily spewed out at helpless civilians by the U.S. murder machine.

Those in the dock in Nuremberg pleaded they only carried out orders from above, that had they refused they faced brutal punishment, and others would have only taken their place. We will argue before the Tribunal that in the case of Mr. Pearson and Mr. Martin, in the case of Mr. Diefenbaker and Mr. Green there are no mitigating, no extenuating circumstances whatsoever. They have no excuse. We will argue that they should share fully, as accomplices who are completely conscious of the seriousness and magnitude of their acts, whatever the verdict of the Tribunal may be in the case of the heads of the government of the United States of America.

"The Canadian Voice of the Anti-Vietnam-War Movement"

CANADA VIETNAM NEWSLETTER

Vol. 1, No. 5 Sept. 1966 Ottawa, Ontario Price: 10c

1966

AUGUST DEMONSTRATIONS EXPAND ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

The August 6-9 Days of Protest found more committees to end the war in Vietnam participating than ever before. In Canada, there were actions in at least 10 different centres, and in the U.S. demonstrators marched in major cities in practically every state in the Union.

Canadian demonstrations were centred around the theme of opposition to U.S. presence in Vietnam and Canada's military aid to the U.S. for the Vietnam war. In the U.S. the main theme was "Bring the GIs home from Vietnam now," and this was coupled in several areas with the demand for the release of the Fort Hood Three, the three soldiers facing court-martial for refusing to fight in Vietnam.

Here is a brief rundown of activities in Canada:

Vancouver

A thousand people, mostly representing peace groups from Seattle and Vancouver, gathered at the Peace Arch at Blaine, on the border. Grace MacInnes of the NDP, Dr. Giovanni Costigan of the University of Washington, Father James Roberts of Vancouver, Richard Lord of Yakima Valley College, Washington, and Paddy Neale of the Vancouver Labour Council all spoke to the gathering. Mrs. MacInnes, New Democratic MP for Vancouver-Kingsway, called for the Canadian government to "stop gumshoeing around Uncle Sam." The Vancouver VDC organized a car cavalcade to take participants down to the border.

Ottawa

The Ottawa Committee to End the War in Vietnam started building for the Days of Protest in June, when a public meeting was held for David McReynolds of the War Resisters' League in the U.S. A week before the actual August 6 demonstration, vigils were held every morning during the Changing of the Guard ceremony on Parliament Hill.

About 90 - 100 people marched on August 6 through downtown Ottawa, after a brief rally on the Hill. Speakers were Harold Wilson for the NDP, Frank Epp, editor of the *Canadian Mennonite*, Rev. Charles Catto of the United Church, and Stig Harvor of the Ottawa Committee.

— Abu, Observer, London

If there's a general election, which general would you vote for?

Montreal

On August 9, about 500 people gathered in Dominion Square to hear Michel Chartrand of the Parti Socialiste du Québec speak on the Vietnam war. M. Chartrand compared the liberation struggle in Vietnam with the struggle for national self-determination of the Québécois.

About 150 later braved the rain for a march through the city, chanting, "Sortez du Vietnam", "Johnson assassin", and "Le Vietnam aux Vietnamiens; le Québec aux Québécois".

On August 8, a folk song concert and film were held to raise money. Earlier, 12 members of the Montreal Committee for Peace and Self-Determination in Vietnam, sponsor of the protest, were arrested for distributing leaflets and posters.

Edmonton

The Edmonton Committee to End the War in Vietnam action on August 7 consisted of a vigil at the Cenotaph. About 100 persons heard Ken Novakowski of the New Democratic Youth, Doug Tomlinson, a trade union leader in Edmonton, Grant Notley of the NDP, and Prof. Ted Kemp of the Edmonton Committee, who called for the withdrawal of U.S. troops as the anti-war movement's major demand.

Regina

T. C. Douglas, federal leader of the New Democratic Party, told about 250 persons on August 8 that "we must urge our government to stop its submissiveness" to the U.S. policies in Vietnam. His speech came on the third day of the Regina Days of Protest rallies. On Saturday evening, Dr. Milnor Alexander of the University of Saskatchewan spoke against "Canadian hypocrisy and duplicity", and said we should be telling the U.S. to get out of Vietnam. Next day Clint Bomphrey of the Regina Vietnam Action Committee urged more vocal protest over "this immoral and illegal war".

Niagara

700 people took part in the regional action at Niagara, from Toronto, Hamilton, Saint Catharines and other places around

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CANADA VIETNAM **NEWLETTER**

Vol. 1, No. 5 September, 1966

Box 2352, Stn. "D", Ottawa, Canada

Editorial Board:

Ken Warren Jeff White
Ed Finn Peter Mix
Gil Levine

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Build Student Committees To End War

Now that September is here, there is good reason to believe that the return of students to high schools and universities will bring along with it a marked growth in the student anti-Vietnam-war committees across Canada.

In the brief history of the Canadian movement, students have played leading roles in building committees and organizing demonstrations. The big student committee at the University of British Columbia mobilized more than half of the 8,000 Canadians who demonstrated on March 26. The University of Toronto Committee, formed during the summer off-season, was nevertheless dynamic enough to play a big role in the preparations and building for the August 6 - 9 Days of Protest. The high school Students Against the War in Vietnam (SAWV) in Toronto and London have remained strong and vigorous, even publishing their own magazine, *Dissent*.

Students are easier to organize than most people; they are generally more inclined to action; they are not tied down to families or jobs, as are their parents; they are searching for ideas. All this adds up to the conclusion that the most immediately fruitful area for building anti-Vietnam-war Committees is on the high school and university campuses.

The experience of the American movement has shown that students will play a leading role in the fight against war. Who does not associate the students of Berkeley with the anti-Vietnam-war struggle?

Already plans are underway to organize a SAWV in Ottawa and campus committees at Carleton, McGill, Western Ontario, Saskatchewan and Alberta. Now is the time to organize, before mid-terms and Christmas exams. With the anti-war movement firmly established on the campuses, we will have a solid base upon which to mobilize broad sectors of the Canadian people against this war.

$1/2 Billion Trade In Death Exports

by Gil Levine

Canada has a half-billion-dollar stake in the business of manufacturing and exporting death. Last year Canadian manufacturers delivered munitions to 44 countries to the value of $415 million. Of this, the Americans purchased almost $260 million worth, an increase of $93 million over 1964, and double the figure for 1963.

From aircraft to armaments, chemicals to clothing, radios to rocket parts, military equipment pour into the United States from Canada at an unprecedented rate. Sale of Canadian military aircraft directly to the U.S. government, for example, increased from $37 million in 1964 to $99 million in 1965. This amount is expected to increase in 1966 as Canadian firms begin filling orders for the F-5 Freedom Fighter planes for Marshall Ky's South Vietnamese Air Force. Ky wants four squadrons of them, and the U.S. is expected to approve this application and pay for them out of "mutual assistance funds".

Canadian firms which supply arms and aircraft to the U.S. for use in Vietnam are: DeHavilland Canadair (Montreal), Dominion Rubber (Kitchener), Hawker Siddeley (Fort William), and Heroux Machine Parts (Montreal).

Authorities in Ottawa say that Canadian Industries Limited, Canada's biggest explosives manufacturer, is exporting into the U.S. smallarms, rocket and cannon propellants, as well as plastic and other types of explosives.

Government Directly Involved

The government is not a passive partner in the business of exporting munitions. It subsidizes export firms to the tune of about $22 million for the development of bigger and better missile launchers, submarine detection equipment, and electronic hardware.

While the Pearson government "regrets" the bombing of Hanoi, it vigorously promotes the sale of the components to deliver the bombs and rockets to the United States armed forces. In fact, Canadian Arsenals Ltd., a crown corporation, (now owned by CIL), produced octol high explosive for export. Octol is used for bursting shells of high potency. The crown corporation also produced artillery ammunition, anti-personnel mines, bombs, grenades, bursters and igniters.

Through another crown corporation, the Canadian Commercial Corporation, the government actively promotes business in the U.S. and elsewhere. The CCC bids on U.S. projects, and if successful, farms out the business to private firms at no cost.

Under current production sharing agreements with the U.S., Canadian armaments require no export permits, and the Americans are free to use the weaponry in any way they like. The only exception Mr. Pearson made to this policy was the refusal of the government to allow the export of weapons directly to Vietnam. However, there is no restriction on shipments of arms indirectly to Vietnam through the U.S.

China Teach-In

The University of Toronto International Teach-In Committee will be host to the Second International Teach-In on the weekend of October 14-16. The subject will be CHINA. Four sessions are planned for the weekend, each of which will include three or four speakers, a discussion period, and questions from the floor.

For more information, contact the International Teach-In Committee, University of Toronto, Toronto.

I. D. P.

(Continued from Page 1)

the Niagara Peninsula. The demonstrators picketed Queenston, Niagara Falls, and Fort Erie bridges, and, at one point, met up with the Rochester, N.Y., IDP Committee. A number of pickets went to the gates of the Cyanamid of Canada plant, where explosives are manufactured for U.S. use in Vietnam. Rabbi Abraham Feinberg, Mme Thérèse Casgrain, Colleen Levis, and the brother of Dennis Mora, one of the Fort Hood Three, spoke at the rally.

Saint John

The Saint John Committee distributed leaflets at the Reversing Falls Tourist Bureau and three shopping centres in the Lancaster-Saint John area on August 6. Also, 30 posters were put up along the highway which brings tourists to the Maritimes from the U.S. The posters, which read, "Canadians Protest U.S. Intervention in Vietnam" and "Bring home U.S. Troops From Vietnam" were extremely effective. Press and radio reaction to the project was swift and the action got some good publicity.

NEWSLETTER FUNDS GROW

Our fund drive continues . . . to date we have received just over $50. This is good, but it could be better. Please send in your contribution today. Can you think of a more worthwhile way to spend $5?

THE MOVEMENTS DEBATES —

Single- or Multi-Issuism

by Jim Mayor, SUPA

The following is a reply to a discussion article by Ken Warren, which appeared in our June issue. Mr. Warren's rebuttal is also printed here. (Ed. note).

Ken Warren, of the Ottawa Committee to End the War in Vietnam, has called for the building of a mass movement, organized around the issue of Vietnam. Before this new movement becomes too intoxicated with dreams of seeing hundreds of thousands of Canadians parading in the streets and Pearson being forced to slap LBJ on the wrist, perhaps we should look at our own history and analyse the fruits of both the Canadian and the American peace movements to see if there are any clues as to whether or not single-issue protest movements are politically relevant today. Let us remember the Nuclear Disarmament days to see what happens to single-issue protests. In that period, tens of thousands of Canadians were involved in a "moralistic" protest against the acquisition of nuclear arms by the Canadian forces, which failed to achieve its objectives and which, for all practical purposes, fell apart after the elections of 1963.

Single-Issuism Irrelevant

In opposition to Ken Warren, I maintain that a single-issue movement is politically irrelevant and that only a multi-issue movement is capable of either ending the war in Vietnam or Canada's complicity in that war. For a more detailed presentation of that view, since space is limited, I will refer you to a critique of the American anti-war movement and its strategy by Paul Booth and Lee Webb, both of the Students for a Democratic Society, entitled, "From Protest to Radical Politics", available at either the SDS office in Chicago, Ill., or in the current issue of *Our Generation*, the magazine of the Student Union for Peace Action.

To be more specific in the Canadian context, let us carefully look at the slogan, End Canadian Complicity. What is the content of that catchy phrase? Do we simply mean that Canada has taken the side of the U.S. on the I.C.C. teams and in its reports? Do we mean simply that the Canadian government has continuously backed the American position? Do we simply mean that a *few* Canadian firms, such as the C.I.L. of Montreal, supply explosives and weapons parts to the war effort? If so, then perhaps — just perhaps, a pressure group which was strong enough might be able to change these policies. But even then, Canada would still be involved in the Vietnam war.

Canada would be involved because the U.S., through control of the Canadian economy, uses Canadian raw materials to feed the American economic machine, a very necessary element for the prosecution of the war. Is it enough for the Canadian people, and its government, to condemn with their mouths American aggression in Vietnam while at the same time continuing to supply the U.S. war machine with Canadian raw materials and profiting from it?

Canada Quasi-Colonial

Unless we raise the issue of American domination of our economy, and work towards ending that control, Canada will *always* be involved in the Vietnam war and any other American imperialist adventures. This fact begs the question: to what extent is Canada free to pursue an independent foreign policy (e.g. to condemn U.S. aggression in Vietnam, among other things) when its economy is so largely controlled by the U.S.? Can we isolate so sharply questions of politics from questions of economics? I do not think so. There is, I believe, a very definite relationship between economics and politics — one that the anti-war movement dare not ignore.

The anti-war movement must understand how foreign policy is made in Canada, what are the limitations to an independent course of action for a quasi-colonial country such as Canada, what are the links of foreign policy to domestic issues, and above all, what are the effects on the making of foreign policy by our economic dependence on the U.S. This is a necessary step in the formation of a strategy that will build a movement capable of ending Canada's complicity in American imperialistic adventures such as the war in Vietnam.

In other words, it is about time that the anti-war movement became a political movement which is concerned with questions of *power*, and developed a strategy for *social change*, instead of continuing in its moralistic paths of simple protest, isolated from the real world of politics.

by Ken Warren OCEWV

The question of a single — or multi-issue movement against the war is, I think, crucial for the success or failure of the movement. This question is a basic one for the movement, for it brings up further questions of program and tactics. It is all the more crucial when one realizes that the pace of the Vietnamese revolution and of U.S. intervention are not in any way determined by us, but rather by the U.S. militarists. Therefore the question is reduced to one of international urgency — how to end the war in the quickest way possible. Do we have the responsibility to shift our attention from the central, most pressing problem of the world today?

The primary aim of the anti-Vietnam-war movement must be to end the war in Vietnam — not to bring about radical social change in Canada. Bearing in mind this fundamentally important fact, our *primary* protest must be directed against the U.S. government. For, in the final analysis, only a decision of the U.S. government will end the war. For this purpose, a multi-issue movement is unnecessary and irrelevant.

In working towards our primary objective, a *secondary* task presents itself. We must direct our protest also against the Canadian government — not because Canadian resources are exploited by U.S. capital, but because our government intentionally bids for arms contracts with the U.S., and provides diplomatic cover for U.S. aggression in Vietnam — all of which is much more than a simple relationship of exploitation.

Canada Willing Supporter

Canada is not just a tool of the U.S. — its complicity consists not in allowing U.S. capital a certain control in its economy, but in willingly striving to support the U.S. adventure in Vietnam. Canadian complicity will be ended not by kicking out U.S. investments, but by refusing to act as auctioneer for war contracts, and by speaking out publicly against the war. Sweden did this without undergoing major social change: Canada can do it too.

Certainly it is true, as Mr. Mayor states, that Canadian raw materials will continue to "feed the U.S. war machine" so long as Canada remains "dominated" economically by the U.S., but this is hardly complicity. If a man robs my wallet to buy a gun to kill his wife, am I an accomplice to murder?

Role of Multi-Issuism

The task of cutting off Canadian raw materials from the U.S. is not essential to ending the war. This task we may leave

(Continued on Page 4)

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War Escalates As US Policy Changes

Up until 1965, American policy in South Vietnam was to support the Saigon regime in its fight against the National Liberation Front. But at the same time it wished to avoid the appearance of intervening purely for its own interests.

At that time U.S. military forces consisted of about 20,000 advisers, helicopter units to supply tactical transportation to Vietnamese units, and a few squadrons of fighter-bombers. There was full consultation between American and Vietnamese forces.

However, the situation reached the point where an NLF victory appeared imminent early in 1965.

In response, the U.S. escalated the war in the following ways:

1. The introduction of combat troops to the point where about 300,000 are now in the country; there are plans for a considerable increase. Co-operation with the South Vietnamese army in battle planning ceased. The purposes were to engage the NLF forces and to remove their base of support by destroying villages and crops, and by moving the survivors to concentration camps. It was also intended to improve the morale of the Saigon regime.
2. Bombing South Vietnam: The purposes are similar to those mentioned in (1) but the results are more devastating. Refugees from the areas under air and land attack are estimated at two million, and the ratio of civilian to military casualties is estimated at up to 10 to 1.
3. Bombing North Vietnam: The U.S. government claims that North Vietnamese troops are entering South Vietnam in large numbers, and that the NLF is controlled by the North Vietnamese government. The conclusion is that bombing will bring a quick end to the war.

Significance of the Escalation

The U.S. no longer claims to protect the freedom of South Vietnam. Instead, it states that it is waging a war to protect its own interests. This policy change will bring heavy commitments and a severe strain in relations between the U.S. and countries of Asia and elsewhere.

The economic and social dislocation caused by the genocidal war of the U.S. against the peasants will increase the possibility of future revolution.

The U.S. claims that its firm stand will encourage countries to resist revolution. However some high military officials estimate that the war will last at least ten years and require one million U.S. troops. That this much effort is required to subdue the population in a territory the size of the state of Missouri is of no comfort to U.S. allies.

Escalation beyond the borders of South Vietnam — Laos, Cambodia, and North Vietnam — has resulted only in aggravation of the situation.

The troop buildup has side effects: The influx of American money into South Vietnam has caused severe inflation. Senator Fullbright has called Saigon an "American brothel". In the U.S., there is increasing resistance by those eligible for the draft, to a war which is meaningless to them.

It is not yet certain whether the escalation will bring success to the American cause. However, the effects adverse to America are already abundantly clear.

3 GI's Face Court Martial

Three American GIs who have gone to jail for refusing to fight in Vietnam, now face court martial and the prospect of five-year sentences if convicted. The three young soldiers, Pfc. James Johnson, Pvt. Dennis Mora, and Pvt. David Samas had announced on June 30 at a press conference that they would not go to Vietnam to fight an "illegal, immoral and unjust" war. (See August *Newsletter*).

The "Fort Hood Three" have raised important questions about the freedom of U.S. soldiers to oppose their government's war. Days after a Pentagon legal spokesman had said the soldiers were merely exercising "the right of free speech", they were taken to Fort Dix, N.J., where they were held incommunicado for six days. When they again refused to board a plane for Vietnam they were held for court martial on insubordination charges.

The men are not allowed to read newspapers or receive letters. Their reading material is limited to the Bible on weekdays and on Sundays a Reader's Digest condensed novel.

A. J. Muste, Chairman of the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee, in a letter to Maj.-Gen. Hightower, Fort Dix Commander, said:

"We are informed that in certain respects these men are being treated as convicted persons. For example, their mattresses are removed during the daytime; they are not permitted any exercise or recreation; when visiting with relatives they are under constant guard and after the visit they are subjected to great indignities such as physical examination of their persons."

The Fort Hood Three Defense Committee has published a pamphlet containing documents on the case. "The Fort Hood Three — Three GIs Who Say No to the Vietnam War" is available at 25c a copy from the Committee at 5 Beekman St., 10th Floor, New York, N.Y. 10038.

National Petition

The Ottawa Committee to End the War in Vietnam has launched a national petition against the war in Vietnam and Canadian complicity in that war.

Addressed to the Pearson government, it calls on the government to stop sending war materials to the U.S., to call upon the U.S. to stop bombing North Vietnam, call for the National Liberation Front to be included in any peace negotiations, and to call for withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam.

The Committee intends to present the petition to the Government on Nov. 11. It hopes that representatives of other committees will participate in the presentation. Further information on the petition and copies may be obtained from the Ottawa CEWV, 71 MacLaren St., Ottawa.

DEBATE

(Continued from Page 3)

to SUPA and the other multi-issue movements. And we must also allow these groups to put forward their multi-issue programs *within* the movement, to win new individuals to their organizations. But it is unreasonable to expect the movement to weaken itself by putting forward such multi-issue programs to the public. Our task is simply to confront the U.S. and Canadian governments on this one issue alone.

The Canadian government's responsibility for the deaths of Vietnamese women and children is not going unnoticed by increasing numbers of the Canadian people. They can read in the daily press about the material complicity of our government. And if Canada is mistakenly viewed as a peacemaker by our fellow Canadians then it is our task and responsibility to bring them the facts that will shatter that myth. Let no one suppose that the Pearson government will not speak out against the Vietnam war when confronted by mass opposition from the Canadian people.

Flowing from our primary "political" task, we must attempt to mobilize under one banner *all* the forces who are opposed to the war, whether or not they favour radical social change of SUPA's variety or any other. Bringing in other issues will effectively exclude potential sympathizers and raise other side issues which are not necessary to our prime objective. SUPA has one idea on how to change society; I have another; someone else has a third. But the one thing we *can* agree on is opposition to the U.S. war in Vietnam, and we can all work together in the anti-war movement to help end it.

Workers Vanguard
1 Cumberland
Toronto, Ont.
October , 1966

Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation
Attention Ralph Scoenman

Dear Friend;

We were very happy indeed to receive the appeal over yourname along with the Postscript; To the conscience of Mankind, a sample copy of the petition and a copy of a general appeal on the Found ation letterhead.

We hope that copies of this material were sent to the addresses that we sent you in our letter of September 23. Here is the Vanco uver Vietnam Day Committee address I said I would obtain for you. It is 441 Seymour Street Room 9. We hope that you have s nt the material that you sent us, to them.

In your general letter you mention that you have several peices of literature, dramatic and informative, which are available for mass distribution. Could you send us sample copies immediately so that we can get things under way. Probably the best thing would be to have them reproduced here by offset
Are you reproducing copies of the original appeal by Russell? We are aware of three different reproductions of it here in America but it would be best that it were available with your own imprimatur on it. Have you put it our yourself in a highly presentable form and can you ship us copies immediately. Are you planning to reprint Russell's poscript. The November issue of Vanguard will in all probability carry it. But of course it would be better for broad work that you yourselves published it

I understand that your Russell Statler when in America recently spent sometime with the Liberation group. It would be well if they are going to really get behind the Tribunal that with your authoriy we establish a certain working relationship with them as they have modest connections here in Toronto. It would be good if we co-ordinate our efforts--not get at cross purposes on publications and broader actions.

It would also seem to us adviseable that a modest office be set up here in Canada which could centrealize the work--keep cont act with the various groups, keep them informed-generally promote supervise, coordinate the publicity and actions . The best points would be either Ottawa or Toronto. We would like to know your thinking on this

We are impressed with the broad possibilities of the whole idea
xx A petition campaign it would seem to us would fit in very well
with the big cross-Canada campus campaign for a national protest
action on November 11. The largest community group is the Vancouver
Vietnam Day Committee. Its recent project to organize a mass rally
for Donald Duncan (former Green Beret) on October 21 has fallen thro
due to restrictions imposed on him by his publisher--it wont be
held at any time until December -so it is reasonable to think that they
could find the Tribunal petition of considerable interest.

Is there any possibility at all of any of the members of the
Tribunal at some appropriate time during the process coming to
Canada on a tour ?

fraternally

Ross Dowson

"The Canadian Voice of the Anti-Vietnam-War Movement"

CANADA VIETNAM NEWSLETTER

November, 1966 Ottawa, Ontario Price: 10c

War Buildup After Manila Talks?

by Jeff White

The seven-nation "summit" conference in Manila, Oct. 24-25, came at a most appropriate time. While the U.S. troop strength escalates in Vietnam, while rumours fly about the "limited" use of nuclear arms, and even as the Pentagon completes its blueprint for the invasion of North Vietnam after the November elections, the so-called "peace" conference could not find a better occasion to reflect the tone of its deliberations.

As Johnson and his Southeast-Asian puppet troupe prepared to meet to map out the next stage in their plans, official statements were coming from high-ranking Philippine officials to the effect that the question of even a **pause** in the bombing of the North would not be discussed, let alone plans to end the war altogether.

Manila Demonstrations

Angered at Johnson's effrontery, 3,000 demonstrators massed outside Johnson's hotel in Manila. Shouting, "Hey, hey, LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?", the protesters, largely students, had to battle off club-swinging and rifle-wielding police with rocks and poster poles. This was much the pattern of reaction the people of Southeast Asia gave LBJ on his little jaunt through the satellite countries. In Australia and New Zealand, spectacular demonstrations attested to the widespread opposition to the war.

But LBJ remained undaunted, and emerged from his paint-spattered car to say "the concept of the Great Society must embrace the whole world."

And just to make sure it does, the U.S. has scheduled about 75,000 more ground troops to go to Vietnam by spring. In addition, according to the Oct. 4 *New York Times*, there will be "several thousand more marines . . . along with more Air Force squadrons and more Navy personnell," bringing the total strength to about 425,000.

(Continued on Page 4)

"THE TORCH OF LIBERTY?"

"The U.S. is today bearing the greatest share of the burden of freedom in the world." — Lester Pearson, July 18, 1966.

Students Prepared for Days of Protest

by Karen Kopperud,
U of T Committee to End the War in Vietnam

The National Student Days of Protest, Nov. 11-12, have received overwhelming support from campus committees all across the country. While we are not aware of the detailed plans in many areas, we have received definite confirmation from many committees that they intend to participate.

One of the most encouraging features of the SDP has been the fact that several new campus committees were established around the preparations for the Nov. 11 protests, for example, Queen's in Kingston, U. of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon, and Lakehead College.

Indications are that the following campuses will have actions: University of Victoria, University of British Columbia, Simon Fraser University, Vancouver City College, University of Alberta (Edmonton), University of Saskatchewan (Saskatoon and Regina), Lakehead College, University of Western Ontario, University of Toronto, Carleton University, Queen's University, York University, Ryerson Polytechnical Institute, McGill University, Sir George Williams University, as well as high schools in Toronto, Ottawa, and London.

Vigils, Rallies, Films

A wide variety of activities is planned. Some committees will hold vigils around Remembrance Day ceremonies (U. of A., Edmonton, Carleton, Queen's), while others will hold separate demonstrations on the 11th (Toronto universities). UBC plans a Vietnam week, with debates, big-name speakers, and rallies, and all profs have been asked to devote one lecture period to a discussion on Vietnam. Univ. of Western Ontario (London) is holding a series of film-showings, folk-singers, and speakers on the 11th, and a local conference on the war on Nov. 12. University of Toronto will hold an eastern Canada conference on the 12th, after a mass rally outdoors on the Friday. The Committee also hopes to link up with off-campus groups for a rally, possibly on the Saturday. In Ottawa, students from Carleton, Ottawa U., Eastern Ontario Institute of Technology, and High School Students Against the War in Vietnam will picket the war memorial during the national ceremony on Friday morning. That evening, an indoor rally will be held on the Carleton campus, with two or three speakers. Most committees in Eastern Canada intend to send representatives to the Conference in Toronto on the 12th.

CANADA VIETNAM **NEWSLETTER**

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Box 2352, Stn. "D", Ottawa, Canada

Editorial Board:

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EDITORIAL:

Remembrance Day, 1966

It is once again that time of year when the people of Canada are asked to remember the dead of past wars.

While the U.S. continues to devastate the land and people of Vietnam, and more GI's face death every day, we are asked by the pious Canadian government to show our concern for those who served in other wars. "Hypocrisy" is too mild a word . . .

The mothers, the sons, the sisters, the wives need no special day to remind them of the death of their loved ones. Their sadness and regret is all too fresh in their minds. American mothers, even today, are losing their sons in a bloody war of extermination in Vietnam.

It is the Pearson government that needs most to be reminded of the slaughter of wartime — slaughter which it is helping to bring down upon the people of Vietnam today. If our government were really serious about its concern for the loss of human lives, it would stop sending aircraft, explosives, and rocket parts to the U.S. to use in Vietnam.

If the government were really sorry for those who have died for freedom, it would support the Vietnamese peasants' fight for self-determination, instead of helping to back the tyrannical regime of Mashal Ky.

If the government were genuinely concerned for the welfare of servicemen, it would call upon the Johnson administration to bring the American GI's back alive from Vietnam — now.

It is significant that, on this Remembrance Day, it is the students of Canada — many of whom lost nobody in war, but none of whom want to lose anybody in a nuclear holocaust — who are calling upon the government and people of Canada to bear in mind the suffering and terror that comes with war, and to demand an end to the genocide in Vietnam.

It is the youth who will be charged with the responsibility of correcting the evils of today. This is why youth are concerned about the war. And this is why students have called a National Day of Protest for Nov. 11 — lest we forget.

War Crimes Tribunal To Last 12 Weeks

by Ken Warren

The International War Crimes Tribunal being set up by Bertrand Russell is going ahead with its plans to try leading figures in the U.S. Government for war crimes in Vietnam. The Tribunal could prove to be one of the biggest developments in the world-wide movement against the Vietnam war.

In a published statement, Lord Russell, the eminent mathematician, philosopher, and Nobel Prize winner, enunciated details of the nature of the Tribunal.

"Witnesses who are under accusation are free to attend, but will not be compelled. It has no power to sentence the accused or carry out penalties. It is not the spokesman of any government. These facts rule out an adversary procedure, because without the ability to bring the accused to give evidence in their defence a trial is impossible. A mock trial would not serve the needs of the Tribunal, for its procedures would be inadequate to its purpose. The War Crimes Tribunal will, therefore, be more an international commission of enquiry, which, as in the case of a grand jury, has *prima facie* evidence sufficient to investigate the crimes it believes to have been committed.

Examination of Facts

The weight and impact of the Tribunal will be a result of the eminence and representative character of its members . . . There will be the most precise examination of the characteristics, properties and effects of the chemicals, gas and other weapons used in Vietnam. More than two hundred witnesses and victims will come to testify from Vietnam. Scientists who have studied weaponry will give evidence. Doctors, nurses, newspapermen and witnesses will testify.

"Motion picture film and still photographs of the raids and the victims will be presented for the Tribunal's consideration. Documentary film will be made from the testimony of the witnesses, the proceedings of the Tribunal and the evidence. Tape recordings will be made of the hearings and pressed into gramophone records for wide distribution. Full data and testimnoy will be published."

Eminent Tribunal Members

Members of the Tribunal, which will last for twelve weeks, include the eminent international lawyers Dr. Vladimir Dedijer of Yugoslavia and Lelio Basso of Italy; Gunther Anders, the Austrian writer; Simone de Beauvoir and Jean-Paul Sartre from France; former President Lazaro Cardenas of Mexico; Stokely Carmichael, national chairman of the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee in the U.S.; Professor Josue de Castro of Brazil, formerly head of the U.N. Food and Agricultural Organization; Isaac Deutscher, the British historian; Danilo Dolci from Sicily; and Peter Weiss, the Swedish playwright.

Petition Campaign

An international petition campaign is being launched to gain support for the Tribunal. Signatories of the petition are supporters of the Tribunal, and are asked to make a small donation to help defray the tremendous costs involved. Copies of the petition can be obtained from the New York office of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, 342 West 84th St., New York, N.Y. 10024.

The New York office is presently busy preparing a dossier of material for submission to the Tribunal. In their research, they will attempt to uncover every shred of evidence reported in the U.S. press of crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity, as defined in Article Six of the Charter of the International Military Tribunal set up at Nuremberg.

Individual Must Choose

Russell Stetler of the New York office summed up the value of the Tribunal when he said:

"When the war criminals stand accused before mankind, it is then the duty of every individual to weigh this accusation and to act accordingly. Every American faced with military service is obliged to examine fully the evidence which the War Crimes Tribunal will publish. He must choose, concretely, between complicity in the perpetration of war crimes and conscientious resistance to criminal practices. Herein lies the real significance of the Tribunal. It compels every American to choose and to act. It removes the excuse of ignorance and lays before the American people the responsibility to end war crimes in Vietnam."

Canadians For U.S. Withdrawal

Over 40% of Canadians who have an opinion on the war in Vietnam are in favour of the U.S. withdrawing its troops from Vietnam, according to a Gallup poll released Oct. 5.

Results of the poll showed that 31% of Canadians think the U.S. should withdraw, 18% think the U.S. should carry on at its present level of fighting, and 27% think the U.S. should increase the strength of its attacks against North Vietnam. One in four (24%) of those polled had no opinion.

Duncan Coming To Vancouver

by Judy Peterson

Donald Duncan, the famous ex-Green Beret who opposes the war in Vietnam, will be speaking at Vancouver and Victoria at big public meetings. The first of these will take place at the University of British Columbia on Dec. 6, and will be sponsored by the UBC Vietnam Day Committee. Then, on December 9, he will speak at the Garden Auditorium, on the grounds of the Pacific National Exhibition, under the auspices of the Vancouver VDC. The Garden Auditorium holds 2600 people.

Early in January, Duncan will return to speak in Victoria. Details on this will be announced later.

Donald Duncan left the U.S. army as a Master Sergeant after ten years of service. Six of these he spent in the Special Forces, including eighteen months on active combat duty in Vietnam. Decorated four times, he was the first enlisted man in Vietnam to be nominated for the Legion of Merit. He left Vietnam on Sept. 5, 1965, and received an honourable discharge He is presently the military editor of *Ramparts* magazine.

Writing in *Ramparts*, Duncan said, "The whole thing was a lie. We weren't preserving freedom in South Vietnam. There was no freedom to preserve."

Students Meet Nov. 12th

The University of Toronto Committee to End the War in Vietnam is calling for a conference of student anti-war activists in Eastern Canada on Nov. 12. The conference will follow closely on the heels of the National Student Days of Protest, Nov. 11-12, which promises to be the biggest Canada-wide student protest in decades.

The conference will discuss future actions and co-ordination of activities. The U of T Committee calls for submission of working papers on questions of organization, problems in building the anti-war movement, etc.

This conference, representing the fast-growing campus committees, and the exchange of experiences and views which the conference will facilitate is bound to be a positive step forward for the whole anti-war movement in Canada.

Anyone wishing further details on the conference is asked to contact the Communications Secretary, Karen Kopperud, 374 College St., Apt. 2, Toronto, Ont.

U.S. Bombs, Gunfire Wreck Rural Society In Vietnam

American and South Vietnamese airstrikes, and artillery and naval gunfire are killing and crippling more than 3,000 Vietnamese civilians every month and gradually destroying rural society in that war-torn country.

These are the considered views of Neil Sheehan who recently returned from Vietnam after serving there for several years as a correspondent for *United Press International* and the *New York Times*.

Sheehan reports in a series of articles in the *Times* that the flow of refugees from the countryside into Saigon and other cities has greatly increased during the past six months. The number of refugees has now passed the million mark.

"And it takes a great deal," Sheehan remarks, "to make a Vietnamese peasant forsake his land and the graves of his ancestors.

He said that the refugees he had questioned told him that, although the Viet Cong taxed them and made them work harder than usual, it was not the Viet Cong they were fleeing from. They left

their homes, they said, because they could no longer bear American and South Vietnamese bombs and shells.

Refugees Neglected

"True to its usual behaviour," writes Sheehan, "the Saigon regime neglects the refugees and the majority are left to shift for themselves. Refugee slums have risen in the cities almost as fast as GI bars.

"Deserted hamlets and barren rice fields, now a common site, are evidence of what the war is doing to rural South Vietnam. In several provinces on the northern central coast as much as one-third of the rice land has been forsaken. The American policy of killing crops in communist-held areas by spraying them with chemical defoliants from aircraft is hastening this process. During the first six months of this year 59,000 acres were destroyed."

Sheehan also points out that entire towns and hamlets are often bombed and shelled at the request of the South Vietnamese province or district chief, who has been told by some paid informer that communist troops are present there. Despite the unreliability of such information, and the fact that the villagers are usually not responsible for the presence of communists, the bombings — often with napalm — are carried out by the Americans.

Moral Issue Ignored

"American officials," says Sheehan, "try to excuse the practice by claiming that the Vietnamese, as the legal authorities, have the right to destroy their own hamlets, even if Americans perform the destructive acts — a fine bit of legalism that ignores the basic moral issue."

He also describes "the moral degeneration caused by the GI culture that has mushroomed in the cities and towns . . . Bars and bordellos, thousands of young Vietnamese women degrading themselves as bar girls and prostitutes, gangs of beggars and hoodlums and children selling their older sisters and picking pockets have become ubiquitous features of urban life."

The *Times* correspondent says that, despite repeated promises of social and economic reform, most of the wealth and resources of South Vietnam remain concentrated in the hands of the few Mandarin families who control the Saigon government.

"The system discriminates against the poor," he writes, "and prevents social mobility. The Mandarin families resist all efforts to change it, since it works in their favour. Although the U.S. has spent millions of dollars building primary schools in Vietnam, for example, it has been unable to bring about any fundamental reform of the Vietnamese educational structure, which makes certain the sons of the prosperous, and almost no one else, will achieve the secondary education necessary to social advancement — whether in the army, the civil service or the professions."

U.S. "Corrupting Itself"

Sheehan says he went to Vietnam in 1962, believing in the rightness of American policies there; but when he left a few months ago he was bitter and disillusioned, convinced that "in the process of waging this war, the U.S. is corrupting itself and its ideals.

"I wonder," he says in conclusion, "when I look at the bombed-out peasant hamlets, the orphans begging and stealing on the streets of Saigon, and the women and children with napalm burns lying on the hospital cots, whether the U.S. or any nation has the right to inflict this suffering and degradation on another people for its own ends."

U.S. BLOCKS MEDICAL AID

The U.S. Government has issued an order under the Trading with the Enemy Act prohibiting the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) from sending medical aid to Vietnam. The organization has been sending money to the International Red Cross, which divides the money three ways for medical supplies — to North Vietnam, to areas in the South under National Liberation Front control, and to Saigon.

When the AFSC tried to send the aid via Canada, the U.S. Post Office instructed all clerks not to accept parcels addressed to the Canadian Friends Service Committee, or to issue money orders to their credit. In addition, the U.S. Treasury has refused to honour cheques made out to the CFSC.

Critical of U.S. Action

Commenting on this move, the *Toronto Daily Star* said in an editorial:

"The U.S. government has aroused uneasiness and resentment around the world — even among people who have no sympathy for communism — by its policy of largely indiscriminate bombing.

"This policy has caused heavy casualties among civilians — including women and children — not only in North Vietnam but in the south, among the people Washington is supposedly trying to protect.

"Washington now follows this up by trying to stop the shipment of medical supplies to the injured. This is reminiscent of Japan's refusal during World War II to allow the Red Cross to distribute food to starving prisoners in Southeast Asia."

Available Literature

American Atrocities in Vietnam, by Eric Norden — A vivid and shocking picture of the Vietnam war. 25c

War and Revolution in Vietnam, by Doug Jenness — A history and analysis of the war and U.S. policy. 15c

The Fort Hood Three, published by the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee — contains information and documents on the case of the three GIs who refuse to go to Vietnam. 25c

The Whole Thing Was a Lie! by Donald Duncan — Reprint of a *Ramparts* article by the famous ex-Green Beret. 15c

All literature may be ordered through the *Canada/Vietnam Newsletter*.

Scientists Demand U.S. Halt Chemical Warfare

Twenty-two U.S. scientists, including seven Nobel laureates, have called on President Johnson to halt the use of anti-personnel and anti-crop weapons in the Vietnam war.

In a letter to the President, the scientists urged Johnson to "categorically declare the intention of the United States to refrain from initiating the use of chemical and biological weapons."

Jonathan Beckwith, assistant professor at Harvard Medical School, speaking for the group, said, "Work is being conducted in this country to purposefully construct highly pathogenic bacterial strains carrying resistance to anti-biotics . . . In particular, it has come to our attention that researchers in one of the Government centres studying germ warfare have created, amongst others, a strain of *Pasteurella pestis* (plague bacteria), which has been infected with such a factor making it resistant to most of the common antibiotics. Thus, not only are we developing ways to spread plague amongst an enemy, but also we shall be able to do it in such a way that treatment may be impossible."

In an accompanying statement, the 22 scientists said "Chemical and biological weapons could be far more dangerous as instruments of mass extermination than anything except nuclear weapons. All nations recognize that the use of even the smallest nuclear artillery shell in war would raise issues of extreme gravity. It would break down barriers to the use of more powerful nuclear weapons, and no one could tell where the escalation might end. The use of chemical or biological weapons, even relatively mild ones, involves similar dangers."

Operation Ranch Hand

Meanwhile, pleased with the effectiveness of chemical defoliation and crop destruction missions, the United States is taking steps to triple its present capacity.

Operation Ranch Hand, using an average of six C123 spray planes, has squirted 1,324,430 gallons of "nontoxic" herbicides over 530,872 acres of jungle hideouts, trails and cropland in guerrilla-held areas of South Vietnam this year.

Plans call for Ranch Hand to build a total of 18 such aircraft over the next several months.

Military officials in Saigon refuse to discuss defoliation activities outside Vietnam, but it is known that some missions have been flown along the Ho Chi Minh Trail in Laos, allegedly the principal "infiltration route" for men and supplies from North Vietnam.

WAR BUILDUP AFTER MANILA TALKS?

(Continued from Page 1)

Pete Hamill's column in the Sept. 26 *New York Post* read, in part:

Everywhere in Washington last week, people were saying that before the year is out we shall invade North Vietnam. The idea would have been preposterous five years ago, extremist two years ago, and very, very dangerous six months ago. But now, people close to power have accepted it."

The *New York Times* has also expressed worry over the course being taken by the Johnson administration. The powerful newspaper said editorially October 7:

"Can the United States steadily escalate the war in Vietnam, prepare for a still bigger war next year, and at the same time bring about peace negotiations with Hanoi? Peace offers with one hand; killing, burning, defoliating, destroying, bombing with the other. The result, surely, is to cancel out each other's effectiveness."

The *Times* agreed with Johnson's propaganda about only "fighting a limited war with 'limited force'." But this is saying, in effect, continue the editors, "I won't kill you, but I'm going to beat you within an inch of your life, after which I hope you will come and join some of us around a table to talk peace."

Nuclear Weapons Possible

Another ominous note was introduced when the question of nuclear arms was raised by former President Eisenhower, at an Oct. 3 press conference, when he said he wouldn't "automatically preclude" the use of nuclear weapons to end the war "as quickly as possible."

The next day, Defense Department officials revealed that the United States has two nuclear-capable ground weapons in South Vietnam. If, by some unforeseen circumstance, the U.S. felt desperate enough to draw upon its nuclear arsenal, they said, atomic warheads could be fired from 155-mm. and 8-inch howitzers now in operation. The warheads are not now in Vietnam, but could be in the hands of army, navy, and air forces in short time if needed, officials said.

Johnson's conference may very well have been successful from his point of view. But for the Vietnamese people, the grim struggle is not nearly over.

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STATEMENT OF AIMS OF INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

(The International War Crimes Tribunal which was initiated by Bertrand Russell issued the following statement at its first press conference in London November 16.)

The conscience of mankind is profoundly disturbed by the war being waged in Vietnam. It is a war in which the world's wealthiest and most powerful state is opposed to a nation of poor peasants, who have been fighting for their independence for a quarter of a century. It appears that this war is being waged in violation of international law and custom.

Every day, the world press and, particularly, that of the United States, publishes reports which, if proved, would represent an evergrowing violation of the principles established by the Nuremberg Tribunal and rules fixed by international agreements. Moved and shocked by the suffering endured by the Vietnamese people and convinced that humanity must know the truth in order to deliver a serious and impartial judgement on the events taking place in Vietnam and where the responsibility for them lies, we have accepted the invitation of Bertrand Russell to meet, in order to examine these facts scrupulously and confront them with the rules of law which govern them.

It has been alleged that in the first nine months of 1966, the air force of the United States has dropped, in Vietnam, four million pounds of bombs daily. If it continues at this rate to the end of the year, the total will constitute a greater mass of explosives than it unloaded on the entire Pacific theater during the whole of the Second World War. The area bombarded in this way is no bigger than the states of New York and Pennsylvania. In the south, the U.S. forces and their docile Saigon allies have herded eight million people, peasants and their families, into barbed wire encampments under the surveillance of the political police. Chemical poisons have been, and are being, used to defoliate and render barren tens of thousands of acres of farmland. Crops are being systematically destroyed--and this in a country where, even in normal times, the average man or woman eats less than half the food consumed by the average American (and lives to less than one third of his age).

Irrigation systems are deliberately disrupted. Napalm, phosphorous bombs and a variety of other, sadistically designed and hitherto unknown weapons are being used against the population of both north and south Vietnam. More than five hundred thousand Vietnamese men, women and children have perished under this onslaught, more than the number of soldiers the U.S. lost in both world wars, although the population of Vietnam had already been decimated during the Japanese and French occupations and the famine which followed the Second World War.

Even though we have not been entrusted with this task by an organized authority, we have taken the responsibility in the interests of humanity and the preservation of civilization. We act on our own accord, in complete independence from any government and any official or semi-official organization, in the firm belief that we express a deep anxiety and remorse felt by many of our fellow humans in many countries. We trust that our action will help to arouse the conscience of the world. We, therefore, consider ourselves a Tribunal which, even if it has not the power to impose sanctions, will have to answer, amongst others, the following questions:

1. Has the U.S. government (and the governments of Australia, New Zealand and

South Korea) committed acts of aggression according to International law?

2. Has the American army made use of or experimented with new weapons or weapons forbidden by the laws of war (gas, special chemical products, napalm, etc.)?

3. Has there been bombardment of targets of a purely civilian character, for example hospitals, schools, sanitoria, dams, etc.; and on what scale has this occurred?

4. Have Vietnamese prisoners been subjected to inhuman treatment forbidden by the laws of war and, in particular, to torture or to mutilation? Have there been unjustified reprisals against the civilian population, in particular, the execution of hostages?

5. Have forced labour camps been created, has there been deportation of the population or other acts tending to the extermination of the population and which can be characterized juridically as acts of genocide?

If the tribunal decides that one, or all, of these crimes have been committed, it will be up to the Tribunal to decide who bears the responsibility for them.

This Tribunal will examine all the evidence that may be placed before it by any source or party. The evidence may be oral, or in a form of documents. No evidence relevent to our purposes will be refused attention. No witness competent to testify about the events with which our enquiry is concerned will be denied a hearing.

The National Liberation Front of Vietnam and the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have assured us of their willingness to cooperate, to provide the necessary information, and to help us in checking the accuracy and reliability of the information. The Cambodian head of state, Prince Sihanouk, has similarily offered to help by the production of evidence. We trust that they will honour this pledge and we shall greatly accept their help, without prejudice to our own views or attitude. We renew, as a Tribunal, the appeal which Bertrand Russell has addressed in his name to the government of the U.S. We invite the government of the U.S. to present evidence or cause it to be presented, and to instruct their officials or representatives to appear and state their case. Our purpose is to establish, without fear or favor, the full truth about this war. We sincerely hope that our efforts will contribute to the world's justice, to the re-establishment of peace and the liberation of the oppressed peoples.

MEMBERS OF THE TRIBUNAL

Bertrand Russell, Honorary President — Jean-Paul Sartre, Executive President
Vladimir Dedifer, Chairman & President of Tribunal Sessions
Gunther Anders, Austrian writer and philosopher
Mehmet Ali Aybar, Turkish M.P. and lawyer
Lelio Basso, deputy in Italian parliament and lawyer
Simone de Beauvoir, French writer
Lazaro Cardenas, former President of Mexico
Stokely Carmichael, Chairman of Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee
Dave Dellinger, editor of American pacifist magazine Liberation
Isaac Deutscher, Polish exile historian
Amado Hernandez, Poet Laureate of the Philippines
Mahmud Ali Kasur, Senior Advocate Pakistan Supreme Court
Kinji Marakawa, Japanese lawyer
Shoichi Sakata, Japanese physicist, Nobel Prize
Laurent Schwartz, French mathematician

Dear Friend:

We wish to bring your attention to a matter of vital concern to all persons whose sense of decency has been violated by what U Thant calls "one of the most barbarous wars in history."

There is a CANADIAN COMMITTEE FOR THE INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL. Its three purposes for existence are:

1. To raise funds for the War Crimes Tribunal. Bertrand Russell and Jean-Paul Sartre, the Tribunal's honorary and executive presidents respectively, expect $30,000.00 from Canada, beyond our own expenses.

2. To publicize the work of the Tribunal and act as a communications liaison between it and the people of Canada.

3. To encourage and enable all Canadians who have knowledge or experiences relevant to the Tribunal's investigation to come forward and offer evidence.

The broader outline of our aims is found in the enclosed brochure.

We need as large a sum as you can give, but do not hesitate to send in only a one dollar bill. With your immediate support we can fullfill our goal and help assure the success of the Tribunal.

The Canadian Committee for the
International War Crimes Tribunal
758 Yonge Street, Room 6
Toronto 5, Canada

PETITION SUPPORT OF INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

We, the undersigned, support the International War Crimes Tribunal initiated by Bertrand Russell. We feel a solemn obligation to expose war crimes and to indict those who perpetrate them. We believe that U.S. actions in Vietnam must be examined exhaustively and the findings made known to world opinion.

N.B.: Among the members of the Tribunal are Gunther Anders, Lelio Basso, Simone de Beauvoir, Lazaro Cardenas, Stokely Carmichael, Josue de Castro, Vladimir Dedijer, Isaac Deutscher, Danilo Dolci, Bertrand Russell, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Peter Weiss.

NAME	ADDRESS	DONATION

This petition with collected funds should be forwarded to Ken Warren, 333 Nepean, Apt 3, Ottawa, to be sent on to the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation in England.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

The conscience of mankind is profoundly disturbed by the war being waged in Vietnam. It is a war in which the world's wealthiest and most powerful State is opposed to a nation of poor peasants, who have been fighting for their independence for a quarter of a century. It appears that this war is being waged in violation of international law and custom.

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RESOLUTION OF THE TRIBUNAL

We are grateful to the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation for the work which it has already done. We are sure that the preliminary steps already taken by it will help us to complete our task within a reasonable time and with considerably more efficiency than would have been possible if its preliminary work had not helped our deliberations.

SPEECH BY BERTRAND RUSSELL TO PRESS CONFERENCE CALLED BY INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL NOVEMBER 16th, 1966

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I very much welcome the substantial progress which has been made during the first session of the International War Crimes Tribunal. I am confident that this Tribunal, which is now formally constituted, will make the most thorough investigation of the character of the United States' war in Vietnam.

It is not my purpose today, however, to discuss either the progress which has been made or the next steps which the Tribunal will be taking. I wish, rather, to explain briefly why I took the step of calling for such a War Crimes Tribunal.

Early in 1963, I was profoundly disturbed by the mounting evidence in the Western Press of the atrocious acts taking place in Vietnam. I therefore wrote to the *New York Times* stating: "The United States Government is conducting a war of annihilation in Vietnam." This statement was not lightly made or chosen for its polemical effect. It expressed my true conviction, based on evidence which I had studied with care. In the three and a half years which have passed since that time, the media of communication, on which people living in the West rely for their knowledge of daily events, have confirmed this assessment. The Western Press has recorded, frequently, without consciousness of the full implications, a record of acts which force one to look back twenty years for anything comparable in our collective experience.

I have prepared a paper, which I hope has been circulated to the Press this morning. It sets out a considerable number of reports from Western newspapers and such sources, giving an indication of the record of the United States in Vietnam. These reports should make it clear that we enter our enquiry with considerable *prima facie* evidence of crimes reported not by the victims but by media favourable to the policies responsible. I believe that we are justified in concluding that it is necessary to convene a solemn Tribunal, composed of men eminent not through their power, but through their intellectual and moral contribution to what we optimistically call "human civilisation"

We command no armies and compel no audience to hear us. If civilisation is to be more than an unfounded hope, it must be possible for people who have sought only to contribute to it to claim the right to speak in its name and to defend it.

As I reflect on this work, I cannot help thinking of the events of my life, because of the crimes I have seen and the hopes I have nurtured. I have lived through the Dreyfus case and been party to the investigation of the crimes committed by King Leopold in the Congo. I can recall many wars. Much injustice has been recorded quietly during these decades. In my own experience I cannot discover a situation quite comparable. I cannot recall a people so tormented, yet so devoid of the failings of their tormentors. I do not know any other conflict in which the disparity in physical power was so vast. I have no memory of any people so enduring, or of any nation with a spirit of resistance so unquenchable.

I will not conceal from you the profundity of my admiration and passion for the people of Vietnam. I cannot relinquish the duty to judge what has been done to them because I have such feelings.

Our mandate is to uncover and tell all. My conviction is that no greater tribute can be provided than an offer of the truth, born of intense and unyielding enquiry.

Finally I wish to record my debt to the members of the Tribunal for their willingness to participate in this work. I know the pressures which are being exerted on those who propose to examine, publicly and fearlessly, the actions of the United States in Vietnam. I feel certain that this Tribunal will perform a historic role and that its investigation will be exhaustive. I have rejected the view that only indifferent men are impartial men. The conception of individual intelligence which confuses empty minds with open ones, is degenerate and must be repudiated. It is my earnest belief that this Tribunal can prevent the crime of silence.

THE INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

The following were appointed by the preliminary session of the International War Crimes Tribunal:

BERTRAND RUSSELL
Honorary President

JEAN PAUL SARTRE
Executive President

VLADIMIR DEDIJER
Chairman and the President of Tribunal Sessions

BERTRAND RUSSELL	
JEAN-PAUL SARTRE	Writer, philosopher.
WOLFGANG ABENDROTH	Doctor of Jurisprudence; Professor of Political Science at Marburg University.
GUNTHER ANDERS	Writer, philosopher.
MEHMET ALI AYBAR	Expert in international law; Member of the Turkish Parliament; President of Turkish Workers' Party.
LELIO BASSO	International lawyer; deputy in Italian Parliament and member of Commission of Foreign Affairs; Professor of Sociology at Rome University.
SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR	Writer, philosopher.
LAZARO CARDENAS	Former President of Mexico.
STOKELY CARMICHAEL	Chairman, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.
LAWRENCE DALY	General Secretary, Scottish National Union of Mineworkers.
VLADIMIR DEDIJER	M.A.(Oxon.). Doctor of Jurisprudence; Historian and writer of books about the laws of war.
DAVE DELLINGER	American pacifist and editor of *Liberation;* Chairman, Fifth Avenue Parade Committee.
ISAAC DEUTSCHER	Historian.
AMADO HERNANDEZ	Poet Laureate of the Philippines; Chairman of the Democratic Labour Party; Director of the Philippines Newspapermen's Organisation; Acting President of the National Organisation of Filipino writers.
MAHMUD ALI KASURI	Senior Advocate Supreme Court of Pakistan.
KINJU MORIKAWA	Attorney at Law; Vice-Chairman of Japanese Civil Liberties Union; Secretary-General Japanese Committee for the investigation of U.S. war crimes in Vietnam.
SHOICHI SAKATA	Professor of Physics.
LAURENT SCHWARTZ	Professor of Mathematics, Paris University.

FURTHER READING ON VIETNAM

THE FORT HOOD THREE Statements and facts about the case of three GI's who have refused to go to Vietnam 25¢.
THE WHOLE THING WAS A LIE! By Donald Duncan A former Green Beret explains why he is opposed to the war. Reprinted from Ramparts. 15¢
GERM WARFARE RESEARCH FOR VIETNAM published by the Philadelphia Area Committee to End the War in Vietnam. An account of the Committee's campaign to uncover a germ and biological warfare research center on campus. 50¢
AMERICAN ATROCITIES IN VIETNAM By Eric Norden. Reprint from Liberation 25¢
WAR AND REVOLUTION IN VIETNAM By Doug Jenness Essential reading on the history of the war. 15¢
CANADA'S ROLE IN VIETNAM By Farley Mowatt 25¢
RATIONALE FOR WAR IN VIETNAM By James Steele An account of Canada's role on the International Control Commission 25¢
IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL VS. NEGOTIATIONS By Caroline Jenness Questions and answers on which way for the Anti-War Movement 15¢
VIETNAM: A CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS A brochure published by the Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter $1.00 per 100

All the above are available from the University of Toronto Committee to End the War in Vietnam, 758 Yonge St., Toronto. Reduced prices for bulk orders.

Canada/Vietnam Newsletter

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THE CANADA/VIETNAM NEWSLETTER
Box 2352, Station "D"
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CANADA'S ROLE IN VIETNAM

External Affairs Minister Paul Martin

ANGEL WITH AN ANGLE

Articles from the CANADA/VIETNAM NEWSLETTER

Reprinted by the University of Toronto Committee to End the War in Vietnam

END CANADIAN COMPLICITY! WITHDRAW U. S. TROOPS NOW!

by The Editors

The war in Vietnam, which U Thant has called the most barbarous in history, is shocking the conscience of the world. Day by day the conflict increases. The napalm and phosphorus bombs continue to rain down; the casualties on both sides continue to mount; refugees from the horror continue to flee into Saigon.

The U.S. government realizes that it has no political manoeuvrability in Vietnam and so it must completely back the dictatorship of Marshal Ky. The brutal suppression of the Buddhist and student demonstrations and the military occupation of Danang and Hué; Ky's hollow promise of elections on some unknown date in the future; and his recently declared intention of pursuing a complete military victory — even threatening an invasion of the north — are blatant denials of the pious statements about defending democracy.

American support for the actions of Ky's regime and the latest escalation of the war by bombing Hanoi and Haiphong, make pointedly clear the similar U.S. intention of achieving military victory in spite of the aspirations and wishes of the Vietnamese people.

These are the "general aims of U.S. policy in Vietnam" that the Pearson government supports. Pearson and Martin have reservations and "regrets" only on the tactics of U.S. intervention. While maintaining the myth of Canada's peacemaking role, by "seeking channels" to Hanoi, they continue to supervise and encourage material aid to the U.S. war machine.

Coupled with this is diplomatic and legal cover for U.S. aggression. The Pearson government is guilty by complicity in the U.S. government's crime against Vietnam and humanity.

The extension of the revolution to the urban areas and the latest escalation have torn the hypocritical facade of legality and defense of freedom from the U.S. government and revealed naked aggression.

The U.S. can make no pretense of defending the Ky dictatorship from "aggression from the north" and an attack on "freedom" and "democracy". The very presence of U.S. troops in Vietnam is a denial of democracy. The Vietnamese do not want U.S. troops in their country. From what source does Ky derive the authority to "invite" the U.S. troops to Vietnam? Whom does Ky represent?

The Vietnamese people have been forced to engage in armed revolution precisely because there is no democratic method of social change in Vietnam. The central theme of U.S. policy in Vietnam has been to deny the right of self-determination to the people of Vietnam if they choose contrary to the wishes of the U.S. government.

The U.S. is clearly the aggressor in Vietnam. There can be no final resolution of the conflict that will be acceptable to the people of Vietnam unless the troops of the U.S. and its allies are withdrawn. Only then will the Vietnamese have complete democratic access to the absolute right of self-determination.

". . . Perhaps the National Liberation Front will agree to something less than full self determination and immediate withdrawal of American troops. If that is the case, we hold no quarrel with people who have fought and bled for a quarter of a century against French, Japanese, and now American intervention. In their circumstance, an honourable compromise may be warranted. But . . . to call for such a compromise in advance is an immoral apologia for the criminal deeds of our Administration."

— Sydney Lens,
Liberation magazine,
Nov. '65

Explosives for U.S up sharply in Canada

OTTAWA (CP) — Exports of Canadian military explosives to the United States are growing rapidly to help meet U.S. needs in the Vietnam war, authorities said yesterday.

Exports this year are expected to exceed amounts produced for Canadian commercial use in 1965. Domestic commercial production last year was 292,000,000 pounds, double the amount of four years previously.

Officials said export licenses are not required for sales of Canadian military explosives to the United States.

"We sell to the United States and what they do with them is their business," one official said.

External Affairs Minister Paul Martin said last week in the Commons that there are no direct shipments of Canadian arms to Vietnam.

Biggest producer of explosives in Canada is Canadian Industries Ltd. of Montreal. The company last year bought the Crown-owned Canadian Arsenals Ltd. plant at Valleyfield, Que., and began working almost exclusively on U.S. contracts for explosives.

One source said the number of employees of CIL at Valleyfield has increased to more than 1,000 from a few hundred.

Authorities here said CIL is exporting to the United States smallarms, rocket and cannon propellants as well as plastic and other types of explosives.

Officials said Cyanamid of Canada Ltd. of Niagara Falls is producing artillery propellants for the United States.

Hand Chemical Industries Ltd. of Cooksville and the CIL plant at Brownsburg, Que., produce such items as smoke grenades, flares and other military pyrotechnics.

Amounts of military explosives exported by Canada are not listed separately by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. They are lumped in with industrial chemical specialties or with various military ordnance.

Statistics do show that the value of industrial chemical specialties and explosives shipped to the United States last year was $4,322,789, with nearly $1,000,000 of this accounted for in December.

Globe & Mail,
April 7, 1966

CANADA'S ROLE IN VIETNAM:

Peacemaker or U.S. Puppet?

by Peter Mix

The attitude of the Canadian government to the Vietnam war has been characterized by a conflict of interests. On the one hand, as a member of the International Control Commission, the government is responsible for the supervision and proper execution of the provisions of the Geneva Agreement, while on the other hand Canada has been drawn towards economic and political support of the United States, regardless of the provisions of the agreement. Also, while declaring support for the Charter of the United Nations, it condones American policies which are in contradiction to the Charter and to statements of the United Nations Secretary General.

There are two main implications to this conflict. First, the government claims that American actions are justified and that the charge of Canadian complicity with United States interests is false. However, the facts indicate otherwise.

Ignore Violations

The American military buildup in South Vietnam was ignored by the Canadian International Control Commission delegate who concentrated on North Vietnamese violations.

The Canadian delegate on the I.C.C. presented a minority report justifying the initiation of bombing of North Vietnam by the claim that it was in retaliation for infiltration of men and equipment into South Vietnam. On the contrary, there was no significant support from North Vietnam until after the commencement of bombing.

Canada is charged with exporting war materials to the U.S. In reply, the government states that it is impossible to determine the ultimate destination of chemical products. It is significant that exports of explosives have increased considerably since the escalation of the war. Furthermore, Canada is supplying aircraft for use by the U.S. forces in Vietnam. In contrast, another American ally, Sweden, refused to sell arms to the United States because of the Vietnam war.

The bombings of Hanoi, Haiphong and nearby dikes and water systems suggest a plan to cause distress in the civilian population rather than merely to destroy military installations. The British government has clearly disassociated itself from the bombings and the Indian government for the first time has placed priority on halting U.S. raids on North Vietnam. Canadian failure to do no more than express disappointment at the bombings, and refusal to join with Britain, France and other countries in appealing to the U.S. to stop the bombing indicate complicity with American policies.

The second implication of this conflict of interests is that our support of U.S. aims in South East Asia damages the attempts at peace for which Canada claims to be working so hard.

The United States' aim is to contain communism in S.E. Asia, a policy which is applied militarily in Vietnam. The U.S. determination to impose its policy completely is indicated by its refusal to negotiate with the FLN and its collaboration with the Saigon regime in crushing the Buddhists. With such great opposition to the American presence it is apparent that only by military force can the U.S. maintain a foothold in this area.

Contradictory Aims

These aims, which Canada supports, are in clear contradiction with her professed aims for peace in S.E. Asia. The results of this policy are apparent in the events surrounding the visit of Mr. Ronning to Hanoi. On the one hand, the North Vietnamese, realizing that Canada supported a policy which inevitably leads to war, were unreceptive to Mr. Ronning's appeals. On the other hand the Americans, knowing that they had Canadian support, disregarded Mr. Pearson's statement that "any change in the scale or pattern of hostilities could have serious implications for the efforts in which we are engaged . . ." and bombed Hanoi and Haiphong.

The solution is for Canada to start dissociating itself from American policy in S.E. Asia and to adopt a policy — unpalatable to those who adhere to the questionable dominoes theory — which includes self determination for South Vietnam. This would help to bring about a change in U.S. policy. It would gain respect for Canada in Asia. It would enable Canada to discharge more effectively its duties as a member of the I.C.C. and to align its policies more closely with the ideals of the United Nations.

Martin Snubs U Thant's Plan To End War

by Jeff White

The last two weeks of June saw Canada and the U.S. make "diplomatic initiatives" towards Hanoi, in an apparent effort to start negotiations to end the Vietnam War. The *New York Times* said June 22 that Hanoi had called the American peace bid simply another "peace offensive fraud" perpetrated by the Johnson administration. The North Vietnamese refuse to negotiate until the U.S. stops bombing their homes and families with napalm. They view with scepticism any proposal for negotiations in Vietnam which does not call for a prior unconditional cessation of bombing and troop build-up by the U.S., as an affront to the dignity of the Vietnamese people.

Martin Evasive

Paul Martin, Canada's External Affairs Minister, was at first evasive in the House of Commons when questioned on Hanoi's reaction to the visit of Canadian diplomat Chester Ronning. Martin later disclosed that the purpose of the mission was merely to see whether there is a basis for informal discussion between the main antagonists. At the same time, he refused to identify the government with U Thant's moderate 3-point plan for negotiations: cessation of bombings of the North, a scaling-down of military activity in the South, and the inclusion of the "Viet Cong" in any negotiations.

Canadian Complicity

Prime Minister Pearson's already-tarnished Nobel Peace Prize is beginning to lose more and more of its glitter as Canada becomes ever more committed to support of the U.S. war effort in Vietnam. Ben Dworkin, financial editor of the *Ottawa Citizen*, reported recently on the effects of the war on North American business:

"In a business sense, Canada is no bystander . . . Several firms in the Ottawa area, for example, are engaged in producing equipment needed by the U.S. military . . . This dependence (of the economy) on the war effort has been rather hush-hush."

Meanwhile, as plans are afoot to have 285,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam by the end of July, and as the U.S. spends 33,000,000 dollars a day on the war, President Johnson has asked Congress for a cutback of a mere 82 million dollars on the school milk program.

FREE ELECTIONS

"If there are going to be elections in Vietnam, they will be characterized by fraud and by meaninglessness, for they will be conducted in those areas in which that shocking little tyrant by the name of Ky, whom we have been supporting, will be in pistol control. I am at a loss to understand what makes anyone think that there will be any free elections in a situation supported by an American puppet military junta . . ."

—Wayne Morse, in the U.S. Senate, June 2.

Blood Money Reward For Canada's Complicity

by Roger Carter

Canada is knowingly and willingly contributing material aid to support the U.S. government's devastation of Vietnam.

This conclusion is drawn from recent articles in the *Financial Post* and the *Globe and Mail*, two of Canada's most influential newspapers.

The April 7 *Globe and Mail* reports: "Exports of Canadian military explosives to the United States are growing rapidly to help meet U.S. needs in the Vietnam war, authorities said yesterday." The report goes on to say that explosive exports in 1966 are expected to exceed 292,000,000 pounds, double the amount produced five years ago for commercial domestic use.

The biggest explosives producer, Canadian Industries Ltd. of Montreal, last year purchased the Crown-owned Canadian Arsenals Ltd. plant at Valleyfield, Quebec, and began working almost exclusively on U.S. contracts for explosives.

The *Globe* also points to Dominion Bureau of Statistics figures which indicate a sharp increase in chemicals and explosives exported to the U.S. towards the end of 1965.

The Nov. 20, 1965, *Financial Post* says in a front page story: 'Canada may share in the developmental costs and production of a new supersonic fighter under study in the U.S." The plane, known as the FX, is to be used for all types of battle situations "from local Vietnam-type wars right up to a major war."

On Nov. 27, the *Post* said: "Canada's exports will very likely be stimulated by sharply-rising U.S. spending for the war."

It continues: *"In fact, the Vietnam war could have export effects for Canada similar to the Korean war. Despite the fact that Canadian foreign policy is at odds with the U.S. on many tactics, the Canadian economy is benefitting."*

"Good" News

Again, on Jan. 15, 1966, *FP* divulged some "good" news: "De Havilland Caribou transport aircraft are performing very well in Vietnam, and the U.S. army is pressing hard for funds in its 1966-67 budget for a substantial new order. In addition, the army is ready to push for a large purchase of Buffaloes, the turbo-prop version of the Cariboo."

Both aircraft are made by De Havilland in Toronto.

In the same story the *Post* mourns the sales of the American-made A-7A jet fighters to the U.S. military, instead of the Canadian F-5.

Then it rallies again and says:

"One good thing could change the picture: a rapidly worsening situation in Vietnam. Then the U.S. might order F-5's to fill the gap while waiting for the A-7A's, which aren't likely to be available in large numbers for two or three years."

And Canada is on the International Control Commission to *keep the peace* in Vietnam!

The following editorial appeared in the August 6 issue of Maclean's Magazine.

"Asked what he thought of Canada's attitude toward the war in Vietnam, Senator Robert Kennedy replied by misquoting Dante: 'The hottest place in hell is reserved for those who in times of crisis preserve their neutrality.'

"We have news for Senator Kennedy. A great many Canadians are not neutral at all about Vietnam. We think the United States is wrong, wrong, wrong — wrong to be there in the first place, wrong to be backing a worthless military dictatorship, wrong to be killing so many people to so little purpose. We have two reasons for not saying so oftener and louder: one, that we like the United States and like Americans, and it grieves us to see them so hated for what they are doing; two, that we still hope a time may come when Canada can do something useful toward stopping this ghastly war, and we don't want to impair that usefulness for the sake of emptily striking an attitude now. But if Senator Kennedy insists on knowing what we think, it's 'Yankee, get out of Vietnam.'"

$1/2 Billion Trade In Death Exports

by Gil Levine

Canada has a half-billion-dollar stake in the business of manufacturing and exporting death. Last year Canadian manufacturers delivered munitions to 44 countries to the value of $415 million. Of this, the Americans purchased almost $260 million worth, an increase of $93 million over 1964, and double the figure for 1963.

From aircraft to armaments, chemicals to clothing, radios to rocket parts, military equipment pour into the United States from Canada at an unprecedented rate. Sale of Canadian military aircraft directly to the U.S. government, for example, increased from $37 million in 1964 to $99 million in 1965. This amount is expected to increase in 1966 as Canadian firms begin filling orders for the F-5 Freedom Fighter planes for Marshall Ky's South Vietnamese Air Force. Ky wants four squadrons of them, and the U.S. is expected to approve this application and pay for them out of "mutual assistance funds".

Canadian firms which supply arms and aircraft to the U.S. for use in Vietnam are: DeHavilland Canadair (Montreal), Dominion Rubber (Kitchener), Hawker Siddeley (Fort William), and Heroux Machine Parts (Montreal).

Authorities in Ottawa say that Canadian Industries Limited, Canada's biggest explosives manufacturer, is exporting into the U.S. smallarms, rocket and cannon propellants, as well as plastic and other types of explosives.

The government is not a passive partner in the business of exporting munitions. It subsidizes export firms to the tune of about $22 million for the development of bigger and better missile launchers, submarine detection equipment, and electronic hardware.

While the Pearson government "regrets" the bombing of Hanoi, it vigorously promotes the sale of the components to deliver the bombs and rockets to the United States armed forces. In fact, Canadian Arsenals Ltd., a crown corporation, (now owned by CIL), produced octol high explosive for export. Octol is used for bursting shells of high potency. The crown corporation also produced artillery ammunition, anti-personnel mines, bombs, grenades, bursters and igniters.

Through another crown corporation, the Canadian Commercial Corporation, the government actively promotes business in the U.S. and elsewhere. The CCC bids on U.S. projects, and if successful, farms out the business to private firms at no cost.

Under current production sharing agreements with the U.S., Canadian armaments require no export permits, and the Americans are free to use the weaponry in any way they like. The only exception Mr. Pearson made to this policy was the refusal of the government to allow the export of weapons directly to Vietnam. However, there is no restriction on shipments of arms indirectly to Vietnam through the U.S.

New hope for DHC Caribou

from CANADIAN AVIATION, Vol. 39, No. 1, Jan. 1966

The success of the U.S. Army's operation of the de Havilland Canada Caribou in Vietnam, and the growing need for this type of rugged, short-haul transport in the fighting there, has increased the likelihood of additional orders for the airplane, or its turbine-powered successor, the Buffalo. There are three companies of U.S. Army Caribou in Vietnam at present—about 54 planes in all—out of the Army's total complement of almost 200. Other Caribou aircraft are being flown in Vietnam by the RCAF (in United Nations colors as part of the U.N. Emergency Force), and the Royal Australian Air Force . . .

U. S. Escalation Heightening Opposition to Vietnam War

By Art Young

In the past month there have been several important indications of the possibilities of building a mass movement against the Vietnam war.

✔ The New Democratic Youth have called for a massive protest rally in Ottawa on March 26. The rally will demand an end to the U.S. war against the Vietnamese people and outline and condemn Canada's guilt. It could serve as a most important action, mobilizing and uniting anti-war youth in common effort; this would have positive repercussions both on the NDP and the anti-war movement. It would also encourage the now embryonic anti-Vietnam-war committees in many Ontario towns. For those unable to reach Ottawa, the NDY will organize support demonstrations in key centers across Canada on that date.

Simultaneously, the American movement to end the Vietnam war will be holding protest actions across the U.S., and overseas support actions will also occur. Such a co-ordinated across Canada effort on March 26 promises to result in an even more powerful opposition to the war than occurred Oct. 16.

Numerous other developments, particularly in Toronto, are indicating new possibilities of effective, united action.

✔ An all day Conference on Canada's Role in Vietnam is being called on February 19 under the joint auspices of Canadian Action for Peace, Toronto Committee for Disarmament, Toronto Peace Center, Toronto Association for Peace, Toronto International Vietnam Day Committee, Students Against War, Fellowship of Reconciliation, and others.

Among the many prominent figures who have signified their intention to participate are: H. W. Herridge, NDP M.P., numerous academic and religious leaders, John Pole-Langdon, executive member of the Toronto and District Labor Council, Joe Meslin, regional director of the Millinery Workers Union, and other unionists.

At least two former members of the Canadian delegation to the International Control Commission, assigned to police the Geneva Accords, intend to expose the true role of that body. The conference thus seems assured of wide publicity in its efforts to bring out the truth about Canada's guilt to a wide audience.

The fact that within a matter of hours of Johnston's resumption of bombing of North Vietnam some of the above organizations were able to mobilize an effective protest of almost 200 persons in front of the U.S. Consulate General speaks well of future possibilities. It seems quite likely that a functioning Toronto Vietnam committee can be formed. Such a committee would represent a step forward to effective opposition to the war.

✔ On February 18 a mass meeting on Vietnam will be held in the Toronto area featuring NDP deputy leader David Lewis. This meeting, under the official auspices of the party, is the result of pressure developed by a number of prominent NDP activists. Concerned with the NDP's failure to effectively oppose U.S. actions or to even expose Canada's complicity, they organized a public meeting to feature NDPers speaking out on these issues. They met with instant response, attracting a wide spectrum of leading NDPers as sponsors, along with a number of NDP constituency clubs.

Unable to kill the meeting, the Toronto area leadership were forced to go along by taking it over. Despite the desires of the leadership that the meeting "not degenerate into another protest" there is no doubt that NDPers and others will view it precisely as an occasion to express their protest. This NDP meeting marks another opportunity for the anti-war movement, and a victory for the NDP left wing, showing its ability to push the party into action.

All these plans for concerted Vietnam action are a welcome change from the past sectarian attitudes of the traditional anti-war forces. While the past attitudes have not disappeared, the desire for united action is becoming evident. The increasing gravity of the Vietnam crisis is crystallizing Canadian opposition to the war. The need now is to channel developments into the most effective forms. For one thing, this means attempting to gain the widest possible unity in action. It also means continuing to push the NDP to meet its responsibilities — consistent opposition to the U.S. war, and exposure of Canadian complicity.

Merchant of Death

Canada is selling aircraft that are playing an essential role in Washington's genocidal war. Ottawa has imposed controls on uranium exports to insure that they are not used for nuclear bombs. But Trade Minister Robert H. Winters is now off to Paris to work out suitable terms for French purchases.

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WORKERS Vanguard

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Cubans Appeal for Real Aid To Vietnam

Armando Hart, as head of the Cuban delegation, addressed himself to a key issue confronting the delegates at the 23rd Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union. He called for effective aid to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Vietnamese revolution, which involves the world position of the Soviet Union and all the workers states, threatened with attack by American imperialism. His contribution received a cold reception from the assembled delegates and Soviet authorities.

According to the April 1 issue of **Izvestia** the Cuban spokesman called for greatly increased help. Insisting that "the necessary risk" must be taken, he said; "From a tactical point of view, a military force should be created capable of stopping the bombardment of North Vietnam, of deactivating U.S. aircraft that are bombing Vietnamese territory. Of decisive importance is the halting of the criminal aggression the bombardment represents, using all means available and taking the necessary risk. It is necessary to undertake final efforts and give decisive aid in order to transform the territory of north Vietnam into a cemetery of American aircraft. It is necessary, if the conditions demand, to be ready for battle in Vietnam with the aim of defending the territorial integrity and the very existence of this fraternal country."

Tass, the official Soviet press agency, did not include this part of the speech in accounts it sent overseas. The report in the April 1 issue of **Le Drapeau Rouge**, official publication of the pro-Moscow Belgian Communist party, further indicates the attitude of the Khrushchevists; "After Zhivkov (First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist party) spoke, Comrade Hart took the floor in the name of the Cuban Communist Party. His speech was received rather coldly by the audience, to such a degree that it was necessary — certainly to give Comrade Armando Hart Davalos the feeling of not being isolated — for Brezhnev himself to give the signal several times for applause."

The distance separating this gathering of conservative bureaucrats from the restrained and realistic outlook of the Cubans (Castro expressed the same views in his March 13 Havana speech) can be judged from the following small item included in the same report from the Moscow correspondent of **Le Drapeau Rouge**; "It is to be noted that the name General de Gaulle was applauded two times during the speech made by Waldeck Rochet." (Rochet is the head of the French Communist party.)

Workers Vanguard #117 MARCH 1966

Cross-Canada Mobilization Against the Genocidal War in Vietnam on March 26

END CANADIAN COMPLICITY! STOP THE WAR NOW! REMOVE U.S. TROOPS

By Art Young

TORONTO — A massive March on Ottawa from all points throughout Ontario to protest Canadian complicity in the U.S. aggression in Vietnam has been launched. On March 26, while Canadians demonstrate in Ottawa and in other cities across the country, hundreds of thousands of their co-thinkers will be demonstrating in all corners of the globe, particularly the United States. The Ottawa March will be the crest of numerous protest activities planned across the country; it could easily lead to the establishment of a new, broad, and effective anti-Vietnam war movement in this country. It is shaping up as the largest and most effective anti-war action held in this country since World War II.

The March was planned during the weekend of Feb. 19. The Conference on Canada's role in Vietnam unanimously decided to go all out for the March, and struck off a broad co-ordinating committee to begin immediate preparations. In a parallel action, the Ontario Young New Democrats' Convention also firmly committed itself to the March.

The Conference was an important step in organizing latent Canadian opposition to the war. An overflow crowd of almost 1,000 persons from all anti-war tendencies heard a series of prominent speakers condemn Canadian complicity in the war. Author Farley Mowat, in an eloquent "Declaration to the Canadian People" compared U.S. policy in Vietnam to Nazi genocide, and assailed Canadian support of this policy. Bert Herridge, NDP M.P., called for Canadian withdrawal from NATO and other military alliances with the U.S. which free American troops for use against the Vietnamese people. Amid long applause, he concluded with a call for solidarity with the Vietnamese, who, he said, were fighting for the right to determine their own destiny.

There were numerous other featured speakers: two ex-members of the Canadian delegation to the International Control Commission who shattered the myth of Canada's impartial role on that body, D. Latouche of UGEQ, bringing the Conference greetings from the Montreal demonstration of the previous evening, and Prof. J. Steele who documented the increasingly hypocritical Vietnam role played by the Canadian government since 1954.

But the highlight of the Conference was the afternoon workshops. As each workshop reported back to the plenary session, it became clear that those forces represented at the Conference were in a position to launch an effective March, and so begin to build a new and vital anti-war movement that could expose Ottawa's role and help end the war. The trade unionists present constituted a Labor Committee to End the Vietnam War, headed by the prominent labor leader, Gerry Gallagher. The Religious Action group similary formed a committee to work against the war in its own field. Every workshop declared itself in favor of the March

Winding up its deliberations, the Conference unanimously passed a resolution condemning the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam, and denouncing Canadian complicity in the war. A widely representative March Coordinating Committee was struck

(See Page 4 — MARCH 26)

March 26th

(Continued from Page 1)

off, and the participants in the Conference returned to their communities and places of work understanding that they had taken the first steps to powerful action against the war.

An attempt by the NDP brass to undercut the developing pressure from the ranks for action against the Vietnam war failed. At a half-empty meeting the evening before the Conference, NDP leader David Lewis expounded the leadership's doctrine of the right and wrong ways to fight Communism. He dispensed the mildest possible brand of anti-war protest, spending over half his speech pointing out the dangers from China. Party members at the meeting became increasingly disgusted with his line, and heckled him heavily; the next day many of them appeared at the Conference to support the March on Ottawa.

In subsequent developments the brass have been unable to thwart the anti-war plans, and have given up the tack of open opposition. This is due to the wide response the Vietnam March has met among NDP ranks. A number of NDP clubs have officially endorsed the March, and numerous other endorsements are likely. The NDY has started

Bringing Civilization to Vietnam

Like a group of sportsmen triumphantly bringing in their fall deer, troops of the U.S. 25th Infantry Division returning with the body of a soldier of the Vietnam National Liberation Front draped over the hood of their jeep. The dead man was their "first kill" since they were shipped in to fight American imperialism's dirty war.

moving, and has even swung the Ontario office into the action.

This should make clear what tremendous potential the March 26 protest has. Preparations for the March on Ottawa are now well under way. A headquarters, massive publicity, and a series of building actions are planned. A train has been rented for the trek to Ottawa. All available indications point to the success of the March, both as a single protest action and as the beginning of a Canadian movement that can effectively oppose the war. Socialists here, as elsewhere, are giving this protest top priority, saying: Build March 26! Stop the War! Withdraw U.S. Troops! End Canadian Complicity!

ST. CATHARINES—A non-exclusionist committee to co-ordinate activities of all forces in this community opposed to the war in Vietnam has been set up. Representatives from two Autoworkers locals and their women's auxiliaries are playing a leading role in the committee, along with representatives from NDP and NDY clubs. The committee has raised $500 so far and is sending at least three bus loads to join the Ottawa demonstration.

VANCOUVER — Over 75 delegates from a wide range of organizations participated in preparatory discussions for a mass demonstration on the 26th of March against the war in Vietnam. It was called by the University of British Columbia Vietnam Day Committee and held in the Vancouver Labor Temple.

EDMONTON — Bus loads of unionists from Calgary will be among those who will be heading into Edmonton to make the March 26 demonstration against Canada's complicity in the U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese people by far the biggest protest ever seen here.

The demonstration, sponsored by the New Democratic Youth, will move through the downtown area from the city hall on to the legislature. A leaflet is being printed up for circulation to union locals and union activists. It is anticipated that NDP provincial leader Neil Reimer and Alberta Federation of Labor President Murdoch, along with a representative of the Alberta Farmers' Union, will accept an invitation to speak. Ken Novakowski, president of the Alberta New Democratic Youth, will chair the meeting at the legislature.

Posters and other publicity material is being prepared. The two key slogans for the March will be "End Canadian Complicity" and "Self-Determination for Vietnam—Get the U.S. Troops Out Now."

LONDON—The recently organized Committee for Peace in Vietnam is planning to hold a conference over April 29-30 patterned along the line of the successful Toronto Conference on Canada's Role in Vietnam. Among the participants will be Labourer's Union leader Gerry Gallagher, chairman of the Labor Committee Against the War in Vietnam that came out of the Toronto Conference, and Archdeacon Boulton, and others. The committee, composed of representatives of campus groups, the clergy, the London Labor Council (CLC), the Young New Democrats, etc., is hiring buses to link its supporters with those leaving Toronto by train for Ottawa on March 26.

REGINA — A Vietnam Action Committee is being formed to organize as an effective demonstration as possible here on March 26, the Day of International Protest Against the War in Vietnam. The call for the committee was issued by the New Democratic Youth provincial executive. All interested groups are being invited to sit on the committee. Among the projects being discussed is a proposal to press the provincial government to hold a debate in the Legislature on Vietnam.

WORKERS
Vanguard

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Montreal Tied-up

What We've Got & What We Want From Ottawa on the War in Vietnam

The position of the Canadian government on the war that the U.S. is waging against the popular forces of national liberation in Vietnam is clear.

While top officials hurried to Washington to challenge the extension of U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission regulations (the so-called guidelines imposed on U.S. capital investment in this country), they have never murmured a protest against U.S. policies in Vietnam which imperil the lives of all the people of Canada and indeed of the entire world.

Ottawa never so much as uttered a word of dissent when Washington escalated bombings over the North and right up to the borders of China; when it increased the number of its forces until they now stand at 235,000; when it employed and continues to employ all the most fiendish devices of a scorched earth policy and war of extermination of an entire peoples.

A few weeks ago Senator Fulbright, reflecting the doubts that now exist even in top U.S. ruling circles about the policies being pursued by the Johnson administration, challenged Secretary of State Dean Rusk with pursuing a policy of "unlimited war"—a policy for which "the only kind of settlement is unconditional surrender". And at that very moment Minister of External Affairs Martin was chatting in the commons about the possibilities of Canada, as a member of the International Control Commission, helping to begin negotiations to end the war.

Mr. Martin's statements to the house—on January 25 he said: "We appreciate and support the purposes and objectives of the policy of the United States"—on February 1, "if it were not for the strength of the U.S., if it were not for her tremendous military and associated power, we might not have been able to maintain the peace thus far," have not remained on paper.

The government, with the endorsement of the Tories and Social Credit, has firmly committed Canada to every move made by Washington and to complete support of the corrupt Saigon regime.

Canada not only gives political support to the government of Premier Ky, a self-avowed admirer of Adolph Hitler, but both direct and indirect material aid. Over the past year Ottawa has increased its aid to Saigon threefold, to a total of 1.5 million dollars. Military equipment manufactured in Canada—including DeHavilland Caribou and Buffalo cargo planes, are playing an important part in the U.S. military campaign.

The function of the International Control Commission set up by the Geneva powers is no longer a matter for speculation. It has been spelled out now by prominent former Canadian members of the Commission. Canada represented Washington—American imperialist interests—on the Commission. The Commission served only to screen the most flagrant violations of the Geneva Accords and the preparation of forces for the U.S. aggression.

What then can Canadians opposed to the war in Vietnam ask of Ottawa? Seek to open negotiations between the National Liberation Front, when Ottawa, like Washington, refuses to even recognize the existence of the NLF? And what credentials does Ottawa have anyway to negotiate anything in Vietnam? And what is there to negotiate? The very idea of negotiations has imbeded in it that the U.S. has some moral or legal right in Vietnam, and is a violation of the sovereignty of that country and the right of self-determination of its peoples.

We must demand that Canada cease supporting the U.S. genocidal war in Vietnam and the U.S. puppet in Saigon—that an embargo be placed on all materials now going to the U.S. and being employed in Vietnam—that Canada break from both the NORAD and NATO military alliances that tie it and subvert it to the war plans of the Pentagon. Canadians should demand in their own right that the U.S. get out of Vietnam, that U.S. troops be withdrawn—for as Johnson continues to escalate the war against the North and against China, pressure is certain to develop to send Canadian troops.

Only a massive campaign of opposition to Canadian complicity in the war in Vietnam, co-ordinated with the mounting opposition within the United States, can stop the war.

WORKERS Vanguard #117 March 1966

U.S. Imperialism Chief Enemy, Says Japan Socialist Leader

The Japanese government was challenged in the Diet on January 31 for supporting the U.S. in the Vietnam war. The secretary general of the Socialist Party demanded the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam as a precondition for settling the conflict.

Last summer the Socialist Party scored sweeping advances in the Tokyo municipal elections. While only 58.6% of the voters in the world's biggest city (estimated 1963 population, 10,355,000) went to the polls, the Socialist Party took the leading position with 45 seats in the Metropolitan Assembly.

Despite the fact that the current prosperity and high employment being enjoyed by Japan is largely due to U.S. expenditures for military supplies being used in Vietnam, opposition to the war is widespread throughout the country. The 4,200,000-member General Council of Japan Trade Unions (Sohyo) ended its convention last summer with a resolution pledging an "all-out fight against U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the Japan-South Korea normalization treaty." In his speech to the convention Secretary General Akira Iwai announced that Sohyo planned to dispatch "international organizers" to Afro-Asian and Latin-American countries in order to solidify opposition to the war in Vietnam.

The 27th national convention of the Socialist Party on January 22 saw the re-election of Kozo Sasaki as chairman. He predicted that the party had a good chance of winning the 1970 national election—in view of the wave of protests against the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty. He declared that "American imperialism is the common enemy not only of Communist China and Japan but also of the whole world."

The program adopted by the convention includes a demand for abrogation of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty. If elected the SP promises to compel the U.S. to withdraw its troops from Japan, Okinawa, and the Bonin Islands.

Japan's key industries such as banking, insurance, energy and the airlines industries will be completely nationalized—but with "fair compensation" to individual owners.

U. S. Will Never Succeed, Que. NDP's Robert Cliche

MONTREAL—Chanting slogans such as "Vietnam to the Vietnamese!" and "Yankee, get out of Vietnam!", 2,000 angry demonstrators blocked the streets of downtown Montreal at the height of rush hour, Feb. 18. Later that evening, over 1,000 people attended a public meeting to protest the war in Vietnam.

Several weeks ago, an Emergency Committee for Peace and Self-determination in Vietnam was formed with over 40 movements participating, including the Québec New Democratic Party, the Parti Socialiste du Québec, the Mouvement de Libération, the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and the Communist Party. Recognizing the urgency of action to end the war, this committee set about to organize the largest demonstration and public meeting possible. Later L'Union Générale des Etudiants du Québec, officially sponsored the actions as well.

Although the Committee officially adopted certain slogans, it was decided that each participating organization could carry its own signs with its own slogans. As a result a coalition of different left-wing movements was formed around the slogan of immediate withdrawal.

The demonstration itself was mostly composed of Université de Montréal students but there was a good representation of students from the English universities in spite of the fact that these universities had refused to officially sponsor the demonstration. The tone of the demonstration was much more radical than the official slogans and the left wing succeeded in having a large number of its slogans accepted by the demonstrators, after a leaflet explaining the necessity for the immediate withdrawal of the Americans was distributed.

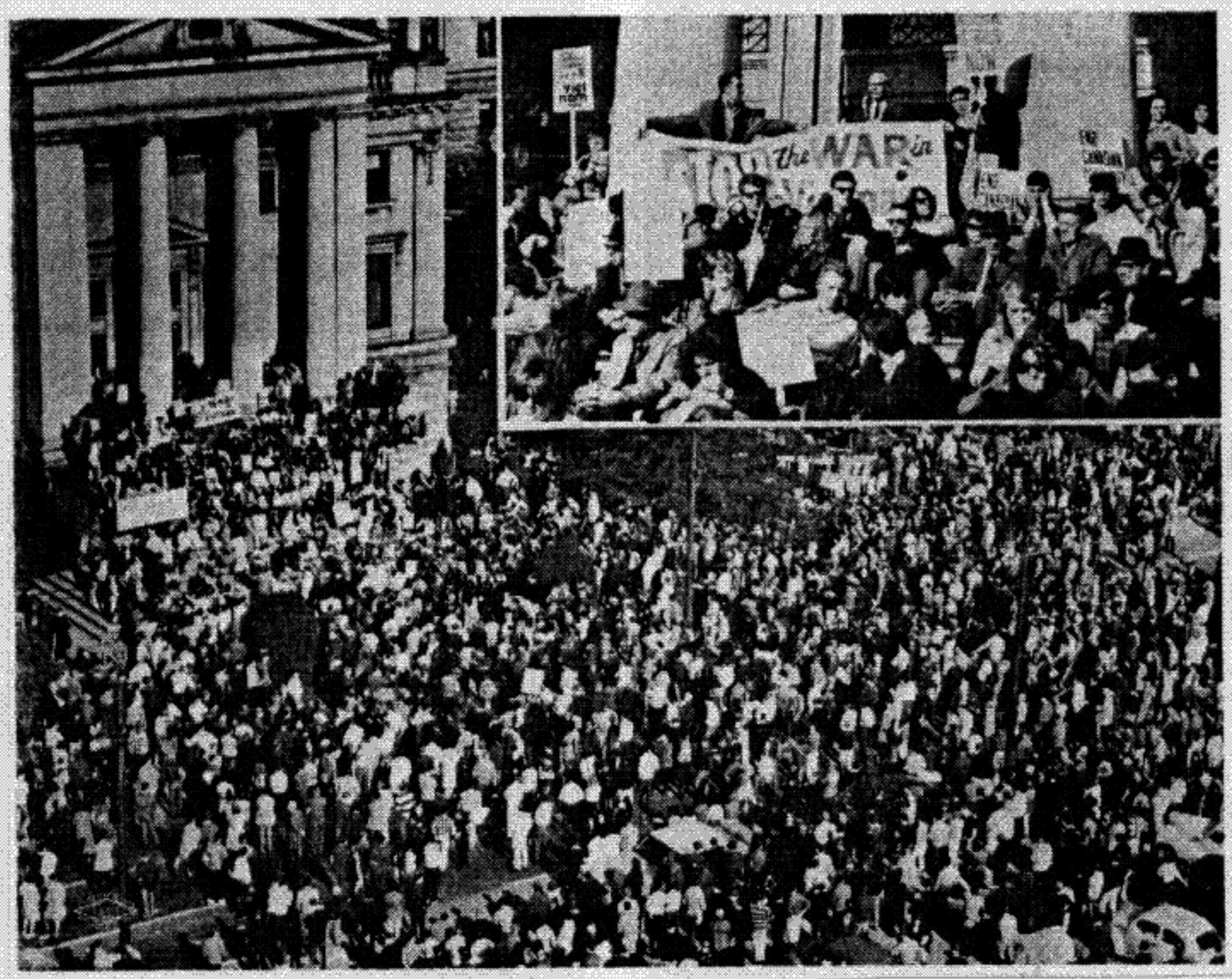
At the public meeting in the evening the audience heard Robert Cliche, leader of the Québec NDP, declare that, "the Americans are never going to impose a capitalist society on the Yellow and Black peoples of the world. For the peoples of Asia and Africa capitalism means white imperialism which means spoilation of their land and exploitation of their people."

Staughton Lynd, a leader of the U.S. anti-Vietnam war movement, addressed the meeting.

Daniel Latouche, vice-president of UGEQ for international affairs, was the last speaker. He called for the formation of a permanent committee on Vietnam, to continue an educational program and to propose and participate in other actions. This committee is now in the process of being established.

This demonstration and meeting were without a doubt the largest French-Canadian actions on international affairs in the recent history of Québec. The participation in the demonstration by many of the nationalist movements is an indication of their rapid turning to an active internationalism.

Opposition to Vietnam War Rising from Coast to Coast



5,000 gathered in front of Vancouver Court House after marching through the city to hear speakers demand an end to Canadian complicity in the U.S. "dirty" war in Vietnam. Close-up shows Alex McDonald, deputy leader of the BC NDP, addressing the crowd.

WORKERS Vanguard

Vol. 10, No. 10 (118), April, 1966 — Toronto — 10 Cents

By ART YOUNG

Across the country there is rising opposition to the U.S. war in Vietnam and the Canadian government's abject complicity. Almost 10,000 Canadians marched against the war in Vietnam on March 26, the International Day of Protest. In almost every major city of the country, there were marches, rallies, or meetings. They constitute the largest co-ordinated anti-war action ever to take place in Canada. They indicate the possibilities of breaking the Pearson government from its role as a serville supported of Washington's Vietnam war, and no doubt served to strengthen the protest movement in the U.S. itself.

On the same day, the American protest movement took a giant step forward by staging demonstrations in over 100 cities from Los Angeles to New York: about 100,000 Americans took to the streets to manifest opposition to their government's aggression. This turnout far surpassed that of the first International Days of Protest; wider sectors of the population participated; the tone of the demonstrations, as shown in the solgans carried and the speeches made, were more militant than previously. The demand of immediate withdrawal of the GI's from Vietnam met an enthusiastic response.

The most inspiring demonstration was that of New York City, where a crowd estimated by the news media at between 50,000 and 100,000 participated. Donald Duncan, the "green beret" who is a veteran of 18 months in Vietnam, got a rousing ovation when he declared that he was "not against our soldiers in Vietnam: I am against our soldiers being in Vietnam."

Throughout the world, 30 countries participated. There were rallies and demonstrations in China, Australia, around the globe to Britain and France. It was clear that the overwhelming majority of the world's population stand in opposition to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

In Vancouver, the largest anti-war demonstration ever held in that city saw 5,000 persons march and rally against the war. The previous day, a University of British Columbia meeting had attracted 5,000 students. Speakers at the city-wide rally, Prof. B. Willmott of UBC, Ray Burns, chairman of the UBC Vietnam Day Committee, and Alex McDonald, deputy leader of the BC NDP, blasted the war and its Canadian government proponents.

A chartered train carried over 1200 Southern Ontario residents from Toronto to Ottawa, where they were joined by others from Montreal, Kingston, Peterborough, and Ottawa itself to swell into a powerful demonstration of 3,000. As the line of marchers, six blocks long, wound its way through the city's main business section, residents remarked on the largest demonstration held in the capital for thirty years. There were contingents from over a dozen cities as well as representatives of the marches in Edmonton, Vancouver, Calgary, and other major points.

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Ottawa March

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At the steps of parliament hill, they heard numerous spokesmen assail Canada's complicity, and demand a break with the American war in Vietnam. Colin Cameron, NDP MP, hailed the march and declared: "It is the failure of our government to speak plainly about the war in Asia that brings us here today. We must speak out forcefully and plainly against the evils that are being committed in our name in Vietnam."

A well-known trade union militant, Gerry Gallagher, head of the Toronto Laborers Union, and representing the newly-formed Labor Committee Against the War in Vietnam, deplored the failure of the official trade union movement to back the march. He scored the executive of the Toronto and District Labor Council for its refusal to endorse the march, meeting their red-baiting excuse of lack of time to "investigate the march's sponsors" with the declaration that he was prepared to march with anyone, at any time, under any auspices, to end the war.

There were other speakers, but the huge Parliament Hill crowd had to wait until the final speech to hear words which really matched their mood. Jean-Marie Bedard, leader of the Parti Socialiste du Quebec, delivered a fiery oration assailing U.S. imperialism and its interventions in every corner of the world to frustrate the right of nations to self-determination. To a rousing ovation he declared that French-Canadians would never consent to fight in the imperialist Vietnam war.

Rev. A. L. Fowlie, a leader of the Toronto Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam (which co-sponsored the march with the New Democratic Youth), brought the rally to a close. He attacked the Liberal and Conservative parties for their support of the war. In a barbed reference to the NDP, he told "the other opposition parties — give us leadership and we will follow . . . If you do not, we will build our own movement to end the war." He called on the assembled demonstrators to return home to begin work in their own localities to deepen Canadian opposition to the war.

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Anti-war Activists Establish Vietnam Group, Vancouver

The Vancouver Vietnam Day Committee was established as a membership organization at a meeting held to assess anti-Vietnam war activity following the large demonstration held here on March 26. The meeting, held March 31, was initiated by the U.B.C. Vietnam Committee. Members of this committee, as well as NDYers, NDPers, students from Vancouver City College, and Sinmon Fraser University, off-campus anti-war activists, and independents were present.

Membership in the new committee will be open to all those who oppose the U.S. war against Vietnam. The basic demands of the U.B.C. committee were adopted. Specifically, these call on the U.S. to stop bombing South Vietnam, stop bombing North Vietnam, and stop flights over mainland China. They also call for Withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam and the Dismantling of U.S. military bases in South Vietnam.

A provisional steering committee made up of the U.B.C. club's steering committee, plus representatives

(See page 2)

Vancouver

(From page 1)

from Vancouver City College and Simon Fraser, was appointed.

A report was received from delegates to the Ottawa March. The meeting agreed to support financially and organizationally the proposed national newsletter being put out by the Ottawa committee. At the same time it was decided to put out a publication in Vancouver.

The objective of the committee is to give a voice to opponents of the war in Vietnam who are not now in any of the existing anti-war groups, and to ensure continuity in anti-war activity during the summer when campuses are closed.

As a first action the committee called a demonstration in solidarity with the struggle that is mounting throughout South Vietnam in opposition to the U.S.-supported dictator, General Ky. It was held Saturday April 9. The committee is investigating reports that Western Bridge, a Vancouver firm, is manufacturing equipment for a U.S. base in Vietnam. If reports are confirmed protest actions are planned.

Cross Country With the NDP

The Ontario leadership of the NDP are not happy about the march on Ottawa to protest Canadian complicity in the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam. It was a tremendous success — but not from anything that they did. That may well be what galls them.

No sooner was everyone back and thinking of where do we go from here than riding presidents and secretaries received a letter over the signature of Provincial Secretary Jim Bury.

Bury stressed the importance of communicating its contents to the riding membership because, as he noted, "there has been considerable agitation at the riding level on this entire matter of international affairs and we do want riding membership to know what the party is doing. . ." A good point because the sad fact is that the party as such has done next to nothing and is continuing to do next to nothing about Canadian complicity in the U.S. dirty war. The three point letter bears this out to the hilt when it takes up the first point — **Action to date** — and reaffirms it when it takes up the second — entitled **New plans.**

But the real purpose of the letter is spelled out in the third point — innocuously titled **A word of caution.** This is nothing but a redbaiting attack on the Toronto Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, which played the key role in mobilizing the Ottawa march. The Ontario NDP brass smear the committee as a "trap" created by the Communist Party and the League for Socialist Action.

The letter contains a strong element of threat to those who are not prepared to resign themselves to the criminal failure of the official leadership to mobilize party ranks in effective opposition to the U.S. war in Vietnam.

The Coordinating Committee's full page advertisement that appeared in the **Ottawa Citizen** calling on all Canadians to assemble on Ottawa on March 26 "to add their voice to this world wide appeal for peace and U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam," won the endorsement of a considerable number of eminent Canadians who will not take kindly to the Ontario NDP leadership's smear. Among the signers are NDP MP's Bert Herridge, Colin Cameron, Grace MacInnis, David Lewis, and T. C. Douglas.

• • •

The latest issue of the **NDP Socialist Caucus Bulletin** features material designed to mobilize the party into effective action on Vietnam. The bulletin first appeared shortly after the 1965 federal convention experience and is committed to developing socialist thought and forces in the NDP. From the list of its correspondents, and the response it reports to a financial appeal, it would appear that it has sunk roots right across the country.

A letter from the Ontario executive that is reproduced in this issue, however, seems to us to strike an ominous note. The letter asks the editors to leave off the initials NDP from the masthead. The reason given in the last line of the letter is that the caucus using NDP in its modest mimeographed bulletin "could lead to confusion in the public mind as to who is and who is not speaking for the party." To top off this absurdity is a paragraph of platitudious comments along the right of individuals to attempt to influence party policy, which ends up with the comment — "as long as this is done as individuals we have no concern."

It is difficult not to connect the demand that the caucus bulletin drop association with the NDP with the longstanding opposition of the leadership to caucus formations in the party other than their own secret ones.

The bulletin contains an interesting report of the David Lewis meeting that the provincial leadership held in Toronto following considerable pressure from leading riding activists for some public action by the party on Vietnam. Mr. Lewis talked of the Chinese danger as if it was they, and not the U.S., who were slaughtering the Vietnamese.

"When asked for his opinion on the demand for withdrawal of U.S. troops," reads the report, "Mr. Lewis stated that the party was not for the victory of one side or the other and launched into an explanation of Chinese aggressiveness, adding that 'they have resurrected Leon Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution.' At this point a comment from the floor pointed out that the Saskatchewan YND had called for withdrawal of U.S. troops. Mr. Lewis retorted that no responsible person in the party holds that position and that the Saskatchewan YND does not represent the party, and he added, 'You don't either, Mr. Steele', singling out of the audience one of the editors of this bulletin."

NDP MP Bert Herridge addressing rally that launched Toronto Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Union Notes

Vietnam Puts U.S. in League with Nazis is the head on a major article appearing in the March issue of **Labour Statesman** published by the B.C. Federation of Labour and the Vancouver and District Labour Council.

It is written by Doug Collins who is introduced as a former labor reporter on the **Province** and the **Sun,** with the usual disclaimer that "his views do not necessarily reflect the views of the publishers or editors of the TLS."

Collins characterized the officialdom as "super hypocrites caught in the glue of their own lies," and describes American action in Vietnam as "aggreession in a country whose people refused to bend to the will of the American Empire." But particularly Collins' article is a withering attack on the "sleek and shiny . . . pharisees . . . of the AFL-CIO who have so enthusiastically shouted Heil to the policies of the White House." He not only rips into the usually vociferous Walter Reuther for his silence but pointedly notes that "one hears little enough from Claude Jodoin and the Canadian Labor Congress."

The editors note that when the AFL-CIO approved American intervention in Vietnam a Labour Statesmen editorial of June 1965 called for the resignation of President George Meany.

Int'l Vietnam Protest Planned for Aug., 6-9

August 6-9 will be international days of united militant protest against the war in Vietnam.

A call for Canadian actions on these days—the anniversaries of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atom bombings—has gone out from the Toronto Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, which co-sponsored with the New Democratic Youth the successful March 26 March on Ottawa. The call is being carried across the country in the banner headline of the second issue of the *Canada Vietnam Newsletter* that the Ottawa committee commenced publishing following the March 26 protest.

The Canadian appeals are in response to the call issued by the New York City Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee to which 80 groups opposed to the war in Vietnam are now affiliated. Their call was issued by the well-known militant pacifist, Dave Dellinger, at a rally on May 23 addressed by I. F. Stone, A. J. Muste, Isaac Deutscher, and Otto Nathan. Dellinger told the New York meeting that the Australian Vietnam Action Committee, with affiliates in Australia and New Zealand, had written that it is calling for demonstrations in co-ordination with the New York Committee and had notified 80 Asian groups of the slated action. The exact nature of the New York action has not been decided upon but it is clear that it will focus around the demand — "Bring the Troops Home Now" from Vietnam.

This simple and forthright demand dominated the rally commemorating the first anniversary of the Berkeley California Vietnam Day Committee. It was with the words "We have to get out of Vietnam and we have to get out fast," that Don Duncan, the former master sergeant of the "Green Berets" who quit after serving in Vietnam, closed his contribution to the rally. It was also the theme of the Vietnam Day Committee's Declaration of Berkeley read by Peter Camejo to the assembled student and faculty members.

The *Canada Vietnam Newsletter* features the slogans "End Canadian Complicity," "Withdraw U.S. Troops Now." The appeal issued by the Toronto Co-ordinating Committee does not identify with the demand Withdraw U.S. troops. Some forces on the committee still hold to positions that would recognize the right of the U.S. aggressors to negotiate terms of settlement, or, that would urge a United Nations presence, etc. However, the committee does not exclude forces that would popularize the demand for immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces.

The Toronto Committee is appealing for a series of actions at all major Canadian-U.S. border points. Its own efforts will be concentrated at Niagara Falls. There it projects a united effort with Upper State New York committees, appealing to Canadian visitors to protest Canadian complicity and to U.S. visitors to support their countrymen protesting Washington's genocidal war. It is possible that along with the mass rally on the Canadian side it will conduct such actions as picketing the Niagara Falls plant of Cyanamid of Canada Limited which is feeding the U.S. military machine with military materials.

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WORKERS Vanguard

#114 June 1966

Murder of Detroit Anti-war Fighter Solidarizes Left

By A. ADAIR

The U.S. anti-war movement suffered its first martyr when 27-year-old Leo Bernard was murdered in Debs Hall, the Detroit headquarters of the Socialist Workers party, on May 16, by an ultra-reactionary gunman.

Two of his comrades, university students Jan Garrett, 22-year-old Wayne County Chairman of the SWP and National Committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance, and Walter Graham, 19, of the YSA, survived the attack after being critically wounded by the flying bullets sprayed by the assassin.

As a result of this violent deed, all sections of the American left closed ranks at memorial meetings across the country, to demonstrate their solidarity with the SWP and their unity behind the principles for which Bernard died. Such unity has not been seen in American politics for over three decades.

Police arrested cab driver Edward Waniolek, three hours after the shooting took place.

After telling his wife "I am going to kill some communists," Waniolek went to Debs Hall and asked to see some books by Lenin. He then ordered the three young men to "line up against the wall. You're all a bunch of commies," and opened fire at them using an automatic pistol and rifle.

The assassination was unmistakeably politically motivated. Lt. Rollins of the Special Investigation Bureau revealed that when Waniolek visited the Union of South Africa consul in New York last March he claimed that "the U.S. was overrun with Communists and that he was armed and prepared to fight against the communists."

Although the police and Secret Service knew about the bloody intentions of Waniolek for over two months, they did nothing.

This terroristic action is not an isolated phenomena in American politics. It follows on the recent bombings by right-wingers of the W.E.B. DuBois Club offices in San Francisco, and the bombing of the headquarters of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee, and numerous killings of trade unionists and civil rights workers. It also flows from

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Honor Anti-War Martyr

(continued from page 1)

the genocidal policy being pursued by President Johnson in his "escalation" of the war in Vietnam — a war in which murder is conducted en masse against men, women and children by the use of chemical warfare and the dropping of thousands of tons of high explosive bombs.

Immediately the news of the assassination was flashed over radio and T.V., messages of sympathy and solidarity started to pour in to the SWP and YSA. Memorial meetings were organized across the country at which tendencies were represented as varied and as different as the Students for a Democratic Society, Students Peace Union, SWP, YSA, Progressive Labor Party, DuBois Clubs and Communist Party.

At the New York meeting where over 300 people jammed into the Militant Labor Forum Hall, Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the S.W.P. reflected the opinion of the vast majority of the audience when he said "In the meaningful solidarity demonstrated at this memorial meeting, in the comparable solidarity that is being demonstrated at the memorial meetings throughout the country this week, in the messages that are pouring in to our party from all over the country and all over the world, there is every reason to take fresh hope and gain more confidence that more and more forces are coming to the support of those of us who have long been fighting against these wrongs in our society, and that we're finding in the course of the struggle how to work more effectively, wherever we can, to promote the common aim that so many of us fundamentally share."

Speaking for the New York State Communist Party, Timothy Wheeler was given an ovation when he declared that Leo Bernard was "committed to the very highest dream of all mankind, which is socialism. And it is because he was committed to that dream that I count Leo Bernard as my comrade."

All of the speakers were agreed that the Detroit shooting was not simply the act of a deranged individual but a product of the anti-communist poison pumped into American society over the years. An outburst of applause greeted the declaration by one speaker that it is President Johnson who should go on trial for the Detroit slaying.

A press release issued by the political committee of the Socialist Workers' Party sums up the feeling of the American left. "The SWP, as the most intransigeant opponent of U.S. imperialism, mourns the martyred Leo Bernard. But it pledges to fight all the more resolutely to advance the socialist cause for which he died.

"The best way to honor Leo Bernard is to stand firm and close ranks against all assaults by the forces of reaction.

"Defend the right of all Americans to speak out!

"Build a bigger, stronger anti-war movement!

"Forward to a socialist America in a socialist world—a society cleansed of violence where peace, justice, equality and an end to poverty can be realized!"

WORKERS Vanguard #119 - June 1966

M.P. Condemns NATO Pact, U.S. Aggression in Vietnam

"In my opinion, only one attitude can possibly be adopted towards the war in Vietnam. I do not ask (the Prime Minister) Mr. Spaak, or the present minister of foreign affairs to serve as mediators. I do not call for negotiations. That's what the Americans want . . . All I demand is the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the American interventionist troops from Vietnam and the rest of the world."

These forthright words, unfortunately, were not made by an NDP member at Ottawa, or a Labour party member at London. They were enunciated in a debate on foreign policy, April 27, by a Pierre Le Greve, a member of the Belgian parliament. He is a member of the Confederation Socialiste des Travailleurs (Socialist Workers Confederation), the new left socialist party which broke with the reformist Social Democracy eighteen months ago.

Among other things, he said the following: "The extraordinary example of Vietnam, which has held out against two modern imperialist armies, shows that guerrilla freedom fighters can even succeed in imposing real military defeats, as they did against France, which is a very rare feat indeed. That's what they did in Dien Bien Phu.

"To their misfortune, this unhappy people were then immediately faced with the most powerful army in the world, the American army. And nevertheless their resistance is not weakening at all. Recently all the urban centres have been in turmoil, a clear indication to international public opinion that the puppet government, kept in power by the Americans, has no popular base whatsoever and is universally hated throughout the land . . ."

Besides demanding that the Belgian government speak out for U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, Le Greve spoke on the government's support of NATO. The NDP is committed to urge Canadian withdrawal from this counter - revolutionary military alliance should it become nuclear armed, which it transparently is. Among all the NDP M.P.'s in Ottawa only Bert Herridge (Kootenay West) has shown even any awareness of the party's commitment. Le Greve made the first appeal in parliament for Belgium to immediately get out of the U.S. dominated military alliance.

NDP Leader Joins Vietnam Protests

REGINA—"What we are talking about here is the future survival of mankind, and the destruction of all life on this planet. . . . At this critical hour of human history, silence is criminal." With these words T. C. Douglas, federal leader of the New Democratic Party, identified himself with all those opposing the war in Vietnam. Speaking to a rally here on Aug. 8, he called on all Canadians to voice their opposition to it, and said that NDP MP's and MLA's would do everything they could to build sentiment against the war and against the Canadian government's "supine submissiveness" to Washington.

The present U.S. policy of growing extension of the war, Douglas said, points toward an attack on China, and with that attack the Soviet Union will be drawn into the conflict. The Third World War would then be upon us, a war which would destroy all life on this earth. The war is not caused by "aggression from North Vietnam" as the Americans claim. Rather it follows from the U.S. policy of encircling China, the puppet Saigon regimes which attempt to prevent popular democracy, and the determination of the Vietnamese people not to submit to foreign domination, explained Douglas.

"All the (Vietnamese) people are trying to do is to run their own affairs," he said. "There can be no peace in Vietnam unless we restore to them what they have been fighting for for 1,000 years—the right to govern themselves."

Unfortunately, he failed to apply this principle correctly in advocating a solution to the war; he advocated a new Big Power Geneva conference to settle the war, called for elections policed by a U.N. army, and failed to demand Washington immediately withdraw its troops from the country it invaded. He also failed to score the Pearson government for its complicity in the U.S. war, talking instead in terms of its indecisiveness on the question.

With the participation of Woodrow Lloyd, Saskatchewan CCF leader, and Ron Thompson, vice-president of the Sask. NDY, the involvement of Canada's labor party in this action was clear to all. The protest marked a big success for the Vietnam Action Committee here, with over 1,000 persons attending during the four days.

Another speaker at the rally was Art Young a member of the Vanguard Cross-country tour. Outlining the grave and continuing escalation of the war, and the barbarous American methods of warfare against the population, Young stated that they show the anti-popular character of the war the U.S. is conducting. Young scored the Pearson government for running interference, for whitewashing Washington's efforts to crush the Vietnamese freedom struggle, and making Canada an arsenal for the U.S. murder-machine.

He wound up: "We millions across the globe who march today, representing the wishes and hopes of the vast majority of mankind, aim to end this war. We represent the working people of this world who have no interest in the slaughter of our Vietnamese brothers and sisters. We are determined to end this war, to force the total and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, to force an end to our government's complicity. And today we can see, around the world, demonstrating with us, the allies who will help us do it!"

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Falls Solidarity With Ft. Hood 3

The thousands of U.S. tourists coming into Canada at Niagara Falls on August 6 were greeted by 700 to 800 Canadians from Toronto, Hamilton and St. Catharines expressing their opposition to Washington's murderous aggression against the people of Vietnam, and their solidarity with the protest movement that is rising amongst the people of United States. Pickets arrayed along the entrances to the Rainbow Bridge, as well as bridges at Queenston Heights and Fort Erie, greeted tourists with banners reading "Bring U.S. Troops Home Alive Now," "End Canadian Complicity." Leaflet distributors met a friendly reception.

Later, following an impressive and high-spirited "stroll" (called this because letter-of-the-law enforcing police would not allow a parade) that brought traffic to a crawl through downtown Niagara Falls, a rally was held in one of the city's school yards.

Highlight of the rally was an address by the brother of U.S. Army Private Dennis Mora, one of the Fort Hood Three. David Samas, James Johnson and Dennis Mora are three G.I.s who, opposed to the war in Vietnam, instituted legal pro-

(See page 2)

Across Canada Vietnam Actions

(Continued from page 1)

ceedings against being sent there on the grounds that the war is "unjust, immoral and illegal." All three were arrested and forcibly taken to Fort Dix one-half hour before they were scheduled to explain their case at a public meeting in New York while on leave. They have been in the Fort Dix stockade "under investigation" since their arrest on July 7.

A standing ovation in solidarity with the Fort Hood Three for the boldness of their action greeted the youthful speaker. He welcomed the demonstration and urged support for the defence committee set up in aid of the three by leading U.S. opponents of the war. Other speakers included Rabbi Abraham Feinberg, Therese Casgrain who presented a statement on behalf of the Voice of Women, Gustavo Tolentino and Colleen Levis of the Toronto Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the Reverend Richard Wright, former NDP candidate in Niagara Falls.

At its first meeting following the Niagara action, the Toronto Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam agreed to undertake the building of neighborhood membership committees. By this means it anticipates broadening the base of the anti-Vietnam war protest movement.

said, "has been the rise of a new and powerful protest movement against the war within the United States itself. This movement is entirely within the progressive tradition of that other America . . ." he said. He expressed pride that the NDP is the only party in Ottawa to have voiced opposition to the war.

Ken Novakowski, president of the Alberta New Democratic Youth, declared that the only demand that the Canadian people can make of Washington is that it withdraw its troops from Vietnam. "To demand of the Vietnamese people that they 'negotiate' with the American aggressors," he said, "is as absurd as it would have been to demand of the British people in 1940 that they negotiate with Hitler in face of the Luftwaffe attacks. Such a position is absurd and has nothing in common with the desires of those who demonstrate here today."

the framework of negotiations and a continued U.S. presence in Vietnam.

The Vietnam Day Committee was excluded from the preparations for this August 6 action. Largely University of British Columbia-based, VDC played a major role in the 5,000 strong March 26 demonstration in Vancouver. But despite its exclusion it organized a cavalcade of some 20 cars, displaying signs "Withdraw U.S. Troops from Vietnam" and "End Canadian Complicity," which passed through the many small communities down to the border demonstration.

Just how much the rally, which attracted approximately 1,000 persons, suffered from the lack of a clear and militant theme and from the division in the anti-Vietnam war movement which deprived it of some of the most dynamic elements and no doubt demoralized others, is not clear.

The Vietnam Day Committee as part of the days of protest held a meeting on the following evening. It took the form of a panel on "What we can do to stop the war in Vietnam." Among the panelists were Jim Harding, past president of the Sask. NDY and national chairman of the Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA), Peter Cameron, a leader of the UBC "March of Concern" fee protest, and Ray Burns, chairman of the UBC Vietnam Day Committee. The discussion from the panel and from the floor centered around the problems of building an anti-war movement, the program and organizational forms that the movement should adopt, and the importance of exposing the complicity of the Canadian government in the war.

The Vietnam Day Committee is a membership committee with a permanent office. The first edition of its magazine *Vietnam Protest* has been completely sold out. It has put out a second edition and is now preparing the next issue. The committee is not accepting its exclusion from the Peace Action League. It has already answered some of the rumors and petty gossip that have been utilized to justify the rupture of the unity of the anti-war movement in the face of Johnson's escalation of the war.

Police Harass Protest Action

MONTREAL—The two actions undertaken here by the Committee for Peace and Self-determination in Vietnam on the International Days of Protest were a substantial success despite police harassment.

Twelve activists on the committee were detained by the police over August 5 and 6, and so prevented from distributing publicity material on the projects. Two were held incommunicado for 12 hours on the 5th and another four the next night. The police refused to return the leaflets they had taken from them.

On August 9, some 400 to 500 rallied in Dominion Square to protest the war in Vietnam. Participating groups with banners were the Rassemblement d'Independence National, La Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, Chevaliers de l'independance, le Parti Communiste du Quebec; members of the Greek community, SUPA, and the Parti Socialiste du Quebec were also represented.

Withdrawal, Not Negotiations

EDMONTON—When Ted Kemp, a University of Alberta professor and executive member of the Edmonton Committee to End the War in Vietnam, demanded an end to Canadian complicity in Vietnam and also withdrawal of U.S. troops as a major demand of the committee, a burst of applause arose from the 100 or so persons who attended a vigil at the cenotaph on August 7. Kemp had previously quoted excerpts from Bertrand Russell's appeal against the war in Vietnam from the July issue of the *Vanguard*.

Alberta NDP Provincial Secretary Grant Notley strongly identified the meeting with "the other America" than that of President Johnson and his Wall Street supporters. "One of the most inspiring developments, however, in the Vietnam war," he

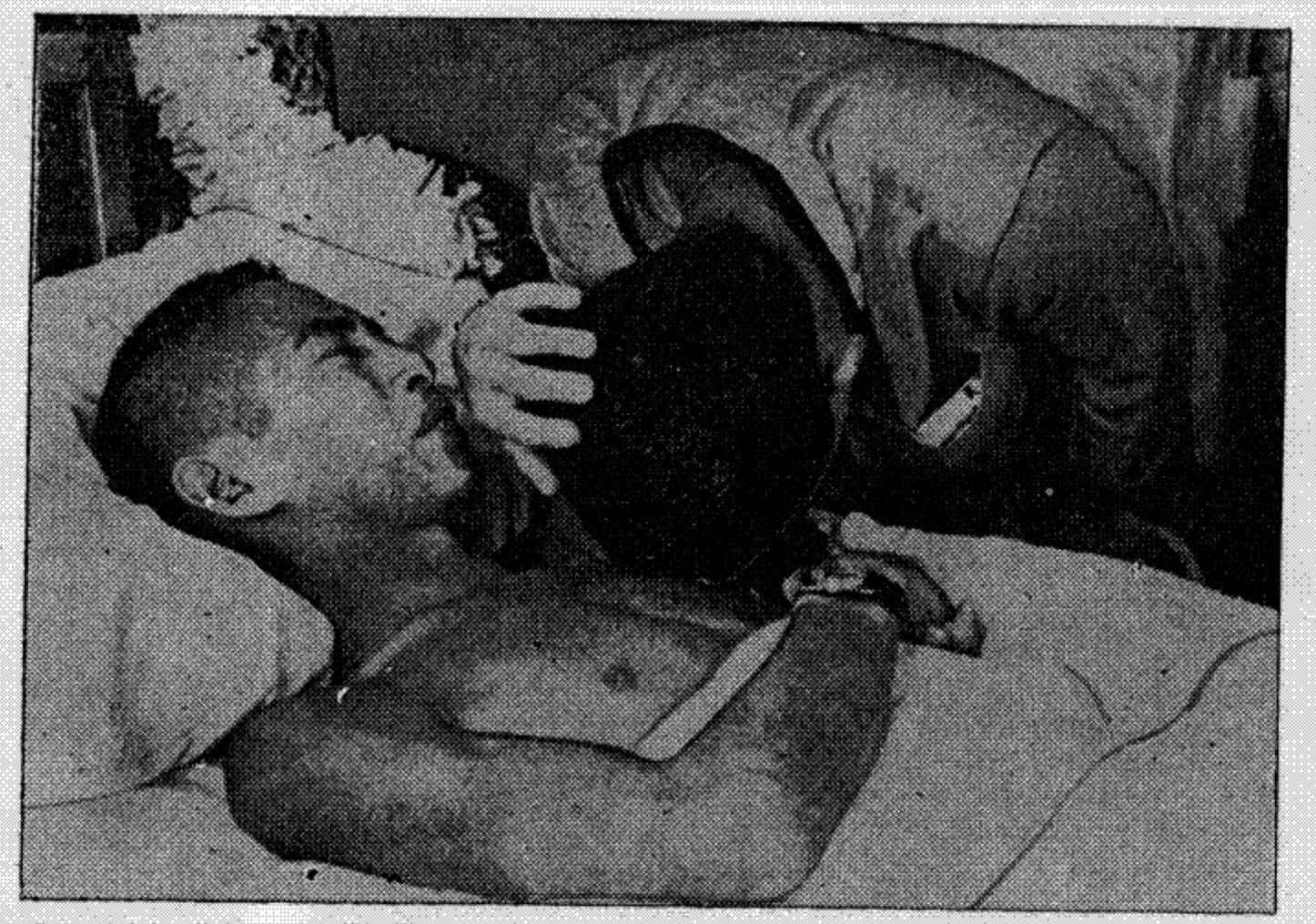
Unity Needed in B.C. Movement

VANCOUVER—The trade union movement should be involved in the movement against the war in Vietnam if only for selfish reasons, according to Paddy Neale, secretary of the Vancouver Labor Council. "It is workers who are first sent overseas and workers who are first killed in any war," he said in his opening remarks as chairman of the rally held at the Peace Arch on the U.S.-Canada border as part of the International Days of Protest against the war in Vietnam.

The rally, a joint effort of U.S. and Canadian anti-war groups was addressed by Grace MacInnis, NDP M.P. for Vancouver - Kingsway, Richard Lord, billed as a Peace candidate in the Fourth Congressional District, Washington, and Dr. Giovanni Costigan of the University of Washington.

Grace MacInnis took the most militant stand although even she opposed immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops "as leaving a vacuum." The others spoke completely within

WORKERS Vanguard



VICTIMS OF U.S. AGGRESSION — Richard Sanoria weeps as he meets his twin brother Ronald in a Honolulu hospital. They have both lost a leg in the Johnson administration's murderous war against the Vietnamese people. "Bring Our Boys Back Alive", has become one of the key demands of the anti-war movement in the United States.

U.S. BLOCKS VIET MEDICAL AID

While with great fanfare U.S. President Johnson was launching another of his offensives for peace in his war on the people of Vietnam, he surreptitiously blocked a modest attempt on the part of American Quakers to ship medical supplies to alleviate the sufferings of those who have managed to survive the saturation bombings, the napalm and the lazy dogs that his government has ordered U.S. airmen to drop on them.

Canadian Royal Bank branches have been instructed by U.S. Treasury officials not to honor cheques and money orders drawn on their U.S. offices in favor of the Canadian Friends Service Committee. U.S. postal workers have also been instructed not to issue postal orders, nor accept parcels addressed to the Friends in Canada. The funds from the U.S. were to supplement donations gathered in Canada to be spent on medical supplies for Vietnam. The funds are administered by the International Red Cross and divided three ways—to injured living under the Saigon regime, injured in areas under control of the National Liberation Front and injured under the Peoples Republic (Hanoi).

The order was issued under the Trading with the Enemy Act. The Quakers were warned that should they continue to violate this act they would be liable to 10 years in

(See page 2)

Blocks Medical Aid

(continued from page 1)

jail and a $10,000 fine. Royal Bank officials have complied without making known the terms laid down by U.S. treasury officials.

The Pearson government under its official policy of neutrality has let out contracts through its Canadian Commercial Corporation that last year netted Canadian business interests 259 million dollars worth of orders for military supplies to be used in Vietnam, and this year an expected $300 million. While quietly merchandising instruments of death and destruction Ottawa has widely publicized its assistance to the victims of such merchandise.

But just as Ottawa is neutral on the side of Washington on other matters, so it is with its aid program. Canadian aid is going to build hospitals, all of which will be entirely within the areas controlled by Washington's Saigon puppets.

When officials of the Canadian Friends asked External Affairs Minister Martin to make representation to U.S. officials over the blocking of funds in their favor, Martin didn't even deign to answer. Canadian government officials even went so far as to harass representatives of the Friends in charge of a shipment of medical supplies leaving Montreal via the Soviet liner Alexander Pushkin. The Friends were required to certify what the shipment contained.

Just as it has remained silent on U.S. interference with Canadian shipments of medical aid, Ottawa uttered not even a word of protest when it came to light that a U.S. Secret Service agent forced his way into the Sarnia home of a Mrs. E. L. McKegney. He grilled her and attempted to intimidate her about a letter she had written to the U.S. president protesting that the U.S. was taking Canada along in a war that would lead to disaster. Mrs. McKegney, a member of the Sarnia Citizens Committee to End the War in Vietnam and of the NDP, protested that she was interrogated in her home by the U.S. Secret Service man in company with an armed city policeman. While the Sarnia Chief of Police denied all knowledge of the incident he stated that it "was quite in order" and goes on "quite often."

While Mr. Pearson affirms in every way the assurance that he gave Mr. Johnson at Campobello that he supports the United States purposes in Vietnam; and such opinion moulders as Larry Henderson of CTV television network, Lubor Zink of the Toronto Telegram, and William Galt of the Vancouver Sun, get their Saigon jaunt all-expenses-paid by the United States Information Agency, working men and women in several key centers are trying to build a grass roots movement under the forces that demonstrated their opposition to Canadian complicity to the war in Vietnam on March 26 and Aug. 6 and their conviction that the way to stop the war is to withdraw U.S. troops. University students across the country are preparing forces to make November 11-12 the biggest days of protest yet.

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Hold Hearings on U.S. War Crimes

Bertrand Russell's declaration of intention to form a tribunal of eminent persons from all parts of the world to hear evidence concerning the crimes of the U.S. government in Vietnam is now taking concrete form.

A partial list of persons prepared to serve on the War Crimes Tribunal has been released. Among them are: Lazaro Cardenas, former president of Mexico; Danilo Dolci, famed Sicilian reformer; the Italian lawyer and socialist Lelio Basso; Jose de Castro, former director general of the United Nations FAO; Vladimer Dedijer of Jugoslavia, now on the staff of Harvard; the noted historian Isaac Deutscher; the dramatist Peter Weiss; the eminent French intellectuals Simone de Beauvoir and Jean-Paul Sartre, and Russell himself.

Russell has asked President Johnson to appear in his own defence at the tribunal. It was slated to assemble in Paris late this year for a duration of two weeks, however, DeGaulle who has been getting a lot of publicity through his show of "independence" from Washington, has now barred it. It is possible that the site will be Sweden.

Russell's announcement of the tribunal and his indictment of the rulers of America was reproduced in full in a special insert in the July issue of WORKERS VANGUARD. Copies of this appeal to the American people, which deserves the widest circulation, can be obtained, 20 for $1, by writing to 1 Cumberland St., Toronto.

JEAN-PAUL SARTRE & BERTRAND RUSSELL

Defend Views on Vietnam

The editors of the monthly journal founded by the eminent French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre, **Les Temps Modernes,** and Bertrand Russell, the famed English mathematician and philosopher, in the letters to the editor column of the British centrist journal, **The Tribune,** have challenged the government of the USSR to take such steps with regards to the defence of Vietnam that would make it clear to the U.S. militarists that they can no longer escalate their murderous war on the people of Vietnam without serious reprisals.

Russell developed his views in the September 2 issue of the **Tribune** in response to a criticism by one of its columnists for his previous cable to Premier Kosygin. Russell urged the Soviet Premier to turn part of the Soviet airforce over to the Vietnamese for the purpose of defending the territory of Vietnam against the unrelenting air bombardment by the United States.

The editors of **Les Temps Modernes** in their August issue called upon Moscow to fix a line which the U.S. militarists cannot transgress without meeting with graduated reprisals. They propose that the Soviet leaders, who command the necessary deterrents, warn Washington that one more step on the escalator, such as bombing the dikes of north Vietnam or crossing the seventeenth parallel, and they too, will order appropriate action.

Here is how they describe the objectives of imperialism; "The United States is deliberately taking the risk of a world war, because, in view of the internal division in the socialist camp, they consider this risk to be very small. Their aim, which goes beyond Vietnam, is to demonstrate;

"(1). That imperialism has enough forces to crush, there or anywhere else, a victorious revolutionary movement, whether or not it is armed;

"(2). That every socialist state that tries to prevent this repression will itself be pitilessly annihilated, even if the revolution that it seeks to aid has broken out in the other half of the same nation;

"(3). That despite the solemn mutual defense treaties which bind this state to the rest of the socialist world, it will be abandoned by them, so formidable is the warlike determination and the strategic superiority of the United States;

"(4). That, consequently, every attempt, armed or peaceful, which tends to change the social and international relations imposed by American imperialism, is a hopeless undertaking anywhere in the world for a long time to come."

"The United States," they continue, "is convinced that the Soviet Union will retreat to the very end . . . It thinks it can coerce China either to lose face by remaining passive before the annihilation and occupation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam or to provide them with the pretext, by its reaction, to destroy its nuclear centers, and, if that is not enough, to transform the Chinese cities into immense charnel houses. They calculate that it will be glad to grasp the bloody hand of America and sign a new global Munich pact with her."

Since there is no alternative strategy, **Les Temps Modernes** concludes that it is necessary to set a limit beyond which one would return blow for blow. "To deliberately assume the risk of war today is the surest way to avoid the choice tomorrow between the reality of an imposed war and the destruction, one after the other, of the revolutionary states and movements of Asia and elsewhere."

After making a strong moral case for the defence of the Vietnamese people "pitting their revolutionary spirit against the evil and gigantic power of the largest military arsenal possessed by any nation in the history of warfare," Bertrand Russell declares that it is "an absolute obligation incumbent upon the Soviet Union, which has the means to accomplish adequately the defence of Vietnam against air attack."

Les Temps Modernes editorial received the same hostile reception from the official French left as did Russell's proposal from the **Tribune** columnist. Russell chided his critic for saying "any defence of the Vietnamese is a provocation to the bully and the aggressor," and increases the dangers of World War III. He points out that the U.S. tested the situation for Soviet reaction before moving out. "Unless the Soviet Union intervenes now with its air force to protect Vietnam," responded Russell, "American imperialism will extend the scale of the war outside Vietnam precisely as it has within Vitnam. The Soviet Union will then be obliged to intervene on a massive scale or to permit the United States to carry on in its aggression."

The **Nouvel Observateur,** a weekly edited by individuals on the right wing of the Unified Socialist party, through a Jean Daniel, declared that "the editorial writer should logically have concluded his article by calling for hostile demonstrations, not before Washington's embassies." He argued that the thesis of **Les Temps Modernes** had a paralyzing effect because it shifted responsibility onto the Soviet Union.

In reality, Daniel said, "problems are no longer posed as they were in Marx's or even Trotsky's day." While it is necessary "to save the revolutionary idea," it is also necessary to avoid "the involvement . . . which leads to total war." Since the French left had no chance of influencing the Soviet Union, its role was to deepen the division among the American people over Washington's policies before "the Vietnamese vanish under the bombs."

In reply the editors of **Les Temps Modernes** protested Daniel's distortion of their position. To seek to justify inaction on the grounds that the American ruling class is led by a pack of madmen, is a false argument, the editors contended. "America cannot disregard a Soviet ultimatum; she cannot wield reprisals against the USSR; or else she would deliberately choose world war. You reply that this is precisely what you are afraid of. You fear that the United States would take no notice. You believe in 'American madness,' while we believe, with good reason, that the policy of imperialism, in all its horror is perfectly rational."

The French Communist paper **L'Humanite,** which so faithfully echoes Moscow, carried a vitriolic editorial in true Stalinist style scoffing at "the armchair strategists of St-Germain-des-Pres who want to brandish nuclear weapons" while sitting in their editorial offices. **L'Humanite** brands the proposals as "irresponsible provocations" on the grounds that they incur the risk of thermonuclear war. The Soviet government, it says, is supplying all the aid needed by the Vietnamese to "neutralize the efforts of the aggressor" (The CP organ carefully refrains from saying "to assure the victory of the National Liberation Front.") It seeks to unload the central responsibility for the difficulties upon Peking's refusal to form a united front with the Soviet Union, though it correctly points out that this is one of the factors exploited by Washington to extend its escalation.

Russell notes that the **Tribune** columnist "advances the official Soviet view regarding China's unwillingness to let Soviet military equipment and personnel pass through its territory". He points out that "the Russians have been asked to say that an attack on China would be an attack on the Soviet Union. They decline to do this. The implications of such a refusal when combined with the request that Chinese territory should be so used, is clear."

Russell scores his opponent as being "late in supporting the Vietnamese for he has been occupied, in the pages of **Tribune** with pressing on them formulae for negotiations which would ratify the American aggression and the presence of American troops in Vietnam. If a world war is to be avoided," he argues, "universal defence of the Vietnamese is the first prerequisite."

Sartre and Russell are amongst the world's most prestigious figures. Their voicing of grave misgivings about Soviet policy follows a line of approach to the world situation which has hitherto been confined to the international Trotskyist movement and certain speeches of Fidel Castro. Their views are bound to wide repercussions in the anti-war movement.

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WORKERS
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Remember the Fallen by Opposing Viet War!

The Student Days of Protest, November 11-12, will be the first truly Canada-wide campus anti-Vietnam-war demonstrations. From progress reports issued by the initiating University of Toronto Committee to End the War in Vietnam it is already apparent that there will be some kind of action on nearly every campus in the country. The project has been endorsed by U.G.E.Q., leading Quebec student body, the Ontario New Democratic Youth in convention, many leading academics, etc.

The major campus actions are taking place at the time of the traditional Remembrance ceremonies for the fallen of World War I and II. The idea of a genuine honoring of those who died in the two World Wars with effective demonstrations against Washington's murderous war against the Vietnamese freedom struggle has also been picked up by many of the community anti-war organizations.

In Edmonton there will be a march along the same route as the Canadian Legion parade on November 12. The plaza in front of Toronto's new city hall will be the site of an imposing Remembrance ceremony that is being organized through the joint efforts of all the anti-war forces in the city. Through the action of the U. of T CEWV, which along with others had been excluded from the old Toronto Coordinating committee, all the groups, including TCCEWV, have been mobilized behind the Nov. 11-12 days.

Special guest speaker at the Toronto ceremony which will end with a parade through the center of the city will be John Gerassi, representative of the Bertrand Russell Foundation, the major force behind the War Crimes Tribunal now underway. A dramatic leaflet—A Memorial for the Dead of World War I and II, and for those Dying in the War in Vietnam—is being widely distributed. The leaflet calls for popular opposition to the Canadian government's complicity in the U.S. war of aggression against the people of Vietnam.

BERTRAND RUSSELL ANSWERS CRITICS

On Vietnam War Crimes Tribunal

The War Crimes Tribunal, sponsored by Bertrand Russell will hold a preliminary meeting in London on November 13. The enquiries in Vietnam and in other countries sponsored by the tribunal will then be followed up for close to three months; the hearings of witnesses and the debates before the tribunal which will begin in March 1967, will take place in Paris.

The July issue of the **Vanguard** carried Russell's Appeal to the American Conscience in full. We now reproduce Russell's Postscript to the original appeal, copies of which are still available at 20 for $1 from 1 Cumberland Street, Toronto.

My Appeal to the American Conscience poses to the American people the relation of war crimes in Vietnam to their Government, society—to their very lives. Not only the American people are confronted by these events. So are we all. World opinion and world action must halt these vast atrocities, or "Eichmann" will come to stand for Everyman. "We", said Eichmann, "only provided the lorries." "He who witnesses a crime in silence, commits it," said José Marti.

Eichmann symbolizes damaged humanity: those who do not know; those who do not think; those who cannot care. Marti expresses the quick, unfettered sense of human responsibility, of impatience with excuses for horror and of contempt for moral evasion. Who, among us, is not a witness to these crimes?

There can be few literate adults in the Western world unfamiliar with the war in Vietnam waged by the United States Government. The mass media of communications, notably television and news magazines, have displayed unremittingly the most graphic evidence of atrocities carried out by the American forces and those responsible to them in Vietnam.

Photographs showing mutilation and torture of villagers and National Liberation Front prisoners have appeared on the front pages of the **New York Times, New York Herald Tribune,** the **Washington Post** and innumerable other newspapers and journals. **Newsweek, Time, Life** and **Look** magazines have carried large numbers of photographs of American forces engaged in operations in Vietnam with phosphorus, poison gas, chemicals and napalm. Such captions as "Smoking out the Vietcong; phosphorus more deadly than gas", have accompanied pictures in these journals.

The bombardment of hospitals, schools and tuberculosis sanatoria

(See page 2)

Explained by Lord Russell

(Continued from page 1)

has been recorded unselfconsciously. The mere compilation of the photographs, reports and data from the Western Press affords a list of crimes as terrible as many of the acts for which Germans were executed at Nuremberg.

Chief Prosecutor Justice Jackson of the United States Supreme Court said in his opening statement at the Nuremberg trials: "The real complaining party at the bar is civilisation. Civilisation is asking whether law is so laggard as to be utterly helpless to deal with crimes of such magnitude as Germany's . . . Civilisation expects this Tribunal to put the forces of international law, its precepts, its prohibitions and most of its sanctions on the side of peace."

The precedent of Nuremberg has direct relevance to our present situation. This was again articulated by Justice Jackson: "Certainly no future lawyer or nation undertaking to prosecute crimes against the peace of the world will have to face the argument that the effort is unprecedented and, therefore, by inference, improper."

In holding a War Crimes Tribunal in 1966 we maintain that our situation is analogous to the circumstances which made necessary the Nuremberg trials. We feel, as people felt twenty-five years ago when Jews were being crammed into gas chambers. We are compelled to speak out, indeed to cry out, against crimes committed in Vietnam.

We maintain that there is overwhelming evidence of a prima facie character, evidence shown daily by the very media of communication of the Western countries. This evidence supporting the charge of war crimes has induced us to prepare the international Tribunal which will function as a commission of enquiry.

What, then, is the nature of this Tribunal? Witnesses who are under accusation are free to attend, but will not be compelled. It has no power to sentence the accused or carry out penalties. It is not the spokesman of any government. These facts rule out any adversary procedure because without the ability to bring the accused to give evidence in their defence a trial is impossible. A mock trial would not serve the needs of the Tribunal, for its procedures would be inadequate to its purpose. The War Crimes Tribunal will, therefore, be more an international commission of enquiry which, as in the case of a grand jury, has prima facie evidence sufficient to investigate the crimes it believes to have been committed.

The weight and impact of the Tribunal will be a result of the eminence and representative character of its members. They will be men who are unimpeachable and whom no-one could accuse of treating evidence inadequately or unfairly. This point is emphasized because there will be some who will say that those who believe crimes to have been committed cannot judge the evidence impartially. This is to confuse an open mind with an empty one. We are not blank slates with no feelings or impressions. The Tribunal is called into being because of a passionate conviction that terrible atrocities and crimes against humanity are taking place at this moment against a small people. The Tribunal, like the grand jury which brings an indictment, will weigh evidence fairly but will hear that evidence because of its belief that crimes are being committed.

There will be the most precise examination of the characteristics, properties and effects of the chemicals, gas and other weapons used in Vietnam. More than two hundred witnesses and victims will come to testify from Vietnam. Scientists who have studied weaponry will give evidence. Doctors, nurses, newspapermen and witnesses will testify. Motion picture film and still photographs of the raids and the victims will be presented for the Tribunal's consideration. Documentary film will be made from the testimony of the witnesses, the proceedings of the Tribunal and the evidence. Tape recordings will be made of the hearings and pressed into gramophone records for wide distribution. Full data and testimony will be published.

The mere announcement of the Tribunal has led to the most widespread international interest and support. Spontaneous actions in favour of the Tribunal have taken place in many countries. Petitions calling on people everywhere to support the Tribunal are being circulated prior to the hearings. Com-

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mittees of support are being formed in many countries. Teach-ins, debates and meetings concerning the Tribunal are being organised. Funds are being collected. Badges and stickers are being distributed. By such means as these it is becoming clear that a considerable mandate is being produced for the Tribunal proceedings. These proceedings will last twelve weeks and will take place in Paris.

The initiative in forming the War Crimes Tribunal is that of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. We have sought to invite esteemed and accomplished people who have made a special contribution to human civilisation. Several of them are experts in international law with particular knowledge and experience concerning war crimes. These latter include Professor (Dr. Juris) Vladimir Dedijer of Yugoslavia and Lelio Basso, international lawyer and Editor of **International Socialist Journal.**

Other members include: Gunther Anders, the Austrian writer; Simone de Beauvoir and Jean-Paul Sartre from France; former President Lazaro Cardenas of Mexico; Stokely Carmichael, National Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee in the United States; Professor Josue de Castro of Brazil, former head of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation; Isaac Deutscher, the British historian; Danilo Dolci from Sicily; and Peter Weiss, the Swedish playwright. It should be clear that the Tribunal is geographically representative as well as prominent. Because of the eminence of the Tribunal members, not all of them can be in Paris for twelve weeks. The legal staff of the Tribunal will take depositions from witnesses and present findings to Tribunal members wherever they are. At the conclusion of the hearings the judgement of the Tribunal will be printed. Support for this judgement will be solicited on the most intensive and world-wide scale.

There are those who raise the question of violence on the part of the National Liberation Front and the Vietnamese resistance to the United States. The War Crimes Tribunal would no more think of considering as crimes the Vietnamese resistance to American aggression than did the Nuremberg Tribunal treat the rising of the Warsaw Ghetto, the struggle for survival of the partisans of Yugoslavia, the resistance of Norway, the underground in Denmark and the Maquis in France as worthy of condemnation. It was the Gestapo who were condemned and not their victims. That assessment was central to the Nuremberg trials themselves, and so it is with respect to the War Crimes Tribunal and Vietnam.

Although it is impossible to compel defence witnesses to appear, the Tribunal is prepared to hear witnesses for the defence, but only those who have been formally requested by the U.S. Government to appear on its behalf. Unauthorized witnesses cannot be accepted in defence of the United States' actions because they would inevitably be considered inadequate or unfair by the U.S. Government, which would insist on regarding the matter of its defence to be its own concern. The serious and solemn character of the Tribunal proceedings require that Government approved defence only will be permitted where the U.S. is concerned. For these reasons, I have written President Johnson requesting him to appear in his own defence or designate persons to come on his Government's behalf.

The Tribunal views its responsibilities to be to civilisation and to mankind. Chief Prosecutor Justice Jackson of the U.S. Supreme Court had said at Nuremberg: "If certain acts and violations of treaties are crimes, they are crimes whether the United States does them or whether Germany does them. We are not prepared to lay down a rule of criminal conduct against others which we would not be willing to have invoked against us." This Tribunal was called in the conviction that these crimes have again been committed and that judgement must again be invoked against those responsible.

It is important to note that the Nuremberg Tribunal was conducted by victorious nations against a defeated one. The international War Crimes Tribunal has no victor's powers, nor any State authority. It holds a brief for the decent feelings of people everywhere. The international investigating committee will travel throughout Vietnam, gathering evidence. It will report in November, 1966, in Paris. People of all countries: Help the War Crimes Tribunal. Make it a Tribunal of the conscience of mankind.

Workers Vanguard

Readers' Forum

This forum is open to the opinions of readers of Workers Vanguard. Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to workers. Keep them short, include your address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed.

Editor;

The Vancouver **Sun** recently carried a series of articles on the Vietnamese war written by its managing editor, Mr. William Galt.

It would be difficult to surpass the distortions, half-truths, outright lies and cynicism displayed by Mr. Galt in this case. In addition he must have an arrogant contempt for his readers if he expects to have his mouthings believed as objective truth.

Here are only a few of his more outrageous fabrications:

He states, with a straight face, that the U.S. has no material interest in Vietnam. It merely wants to stop communist "aggression", bring in the blessings of representative democracy and raise the living standards of the South Vietnamese.

What are the facts?

President Eisenhower, in one of his more candid moments, admitted that the prime interest of the west in Vietnam was to exploit its valuable raw materials such as tin, rubber, oil, cocoa, etc. In other words, the application of U.S. military power is to make Vietnam "safe" for U.S. capital. Furthermore, U.S., and I might add Canadian arms manufacturing companies, are garnering fantastic profits from this war. Some altruism!

Next he says that the West is fighting a very humane war in Vietnam with only a minimum of damage and lives lost. He boldly declares that the so-called Viet Cong killed some 12,000 village headmen, government officials, as well as women and children "deliberately" —U.S. atrocities being merely "mistakes". In contrast he says the casualties caused by American actions were much less than this.

This is of course an outright lie as numerous correspondents, reporters, and observers, few known for their comunist bias, have attested to the fact that 100,000 Vietnamese civilians were killed by U.S. bombardment, hundreds of thousands maimed and injured, and the homeless totalling well over a million. Mr. Galt, only in the most indirect fashion, mentions the tens of thousands of acres of fertile land laid to waste by deadly chemicals sprayed from the air and the great number of villages razed to the ground.

Last but not least Mr. Galt claims that the U.S. is winning the war in Vietnam as "time is on the side of the U.S."

It is rather the opposite: doesn't he realize that even if U.S. imperialism with its tremendous fire-power can prevent an NLF victory in the short run, it can never crush the spirit and resolve of the Vietnamese people. In the long run, U.S. troops will be forced to withdraw and the Vietnamese people will adopt the social system of their choosing. I suspect that as they are fed up with colonial and neo-colonial regimes, have seen the corruption and degredation caused by rampant capitalism in Saigon, they will opt for socialism. That is, by an overwhelming majority will opt for the program of the National Liberation Front, Mr. Galt and his U.S. sponsors not withstanding.

K. P., Vancouver, B.C.

WORKERS Vanguard

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Fort Hood 3 Inspire Viet War Resistance

by John Wilson

If the U.S. military authorities thought that the case of the Fort Hood Three—the three young American GI's who are presently serving harsh prison terms for their courageous refusal to be shipped to Vietnam—was giving them enough trouble, well—they've got more on their hands.

Stokely Carmichael, leader of the militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has now stated that if drafted he will not serve in the armed forces. "I'd rather go to Leavenworth (federal prison)," he declared. Carmichael further termed U.S. Negro troops in Vietnam "black mercenaries." Carmichael's stand, following his previous declarations that Black Americans are victimized by both U.S. policy in Vietnam and the draft system, can serve only to heighten the already significant opposition by U.S. Negroes to participation in the Vietnam war.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Paralleling the bold and principled stand of the Fort Hood Three, five young Puerto Ricans, all of them members of the Movimiento Pro Independencia (MPI), have been charged with refusing to serve in the armed forces of the United States. The Puerto Rican independence paper, **Claridad,** declares that they object to being used as "cannon fodder" for the U.S. in its attacks "against peoples who are struggling for their sovereignty and national liberation." The five are challenging the legality of applying U.S. military draft laws to Puerto Ricans.

The Fort Hood Three were court-martialled nearly two months ago for refusing to go and fight in Vietnam, while initiating court action, still on appeal, which challenges the legality of their being forced to fight in Johnson's dirty, undeclared war.

The three, Pvt. Dennis Mora, serving three years, and Pvt. David Samas and PFC James Johnson, both serving five years, have been held since their court-martial in the maximum security section of Fort George Meade, Maryland, awaiting transfer to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

The treatment accorded these men before, during and after their court-martial has been nothing short of cruel and scandalous. In a vicious and calculated effort to break their high morale and determination the military brass until very recently kept all three in absolute solitary confinement, punishing any prisoners in nearby cells who so much as exchanged words with them.

They are still being forced to stand in their cells from 5 a.m. to 6 p.m. every day, any infraction of this rule being punished by having to do push-ups, and are denied any reading material other than the Bible. Their mail has been repeatedly interefered with, and their visiting privileges are brutally restrictive.

This harsh treatment is not motivated solely by petty viciousness, for the military are acutely aware of the possibly explosive repercussions of this case among the ranks of the U.S. armed forces, especially among draftees. In their virtual quarantine of the three, the brasshats were attempting to keep the lid on the case, to prevent a spread of the "infection"; for they knew already that Samas, Johnson and Mora were virtual heroes to many GI's, this fact being confirmed by letters sent from the three prisoners to the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee.

It is in fact a tribute to the strength of the opposition to the war in Vietnam in the U.S. itself that mounting pressure recently forced the authorities to end the solitary confinement of the men. The modification of the brutal treatment of the antiwar GI's coincided with a report on their conditions in the Oct. 16 **New York Times.** Spearheaded by the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee, the American anti-war movement has been holding protest meetings and rallies across the country, and has been leafletting soldiers, sailors, airmen and civilians with information about the case.

Indicative of the widespread indignation aroused by the case is the impressive list of prominent sponsors supporting the Committee, whose co-chairmen are Rev. A. J. Muste and Prof. Staughton Lynd, and whose secretary is David Dellinger, editor of **Liberation.** Increasing protest can be expected to mount both inside and outside the armed forces, and it can confidently be predicted that vehement protest of the imprisonment and treatment of the three GI's will play a prominent role in the November 8 Mobilization against the war in Vietnam called for and supported by all sectors of the U.S. anti-war movement.

Vanguard

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War Crimes Tribunal On Vietnam Launched

After a three-day meeting of leading participants in London, November 13-16, an International War Crimes Tribunal was formally constituted. A declaration of aims and objectives was adopted and legal and technical machinery set up to prepare for formal hearings scheduled for next March in Paris.

At the invitation of Bertrand Russell, who initiated the body, a distinguished group of intellectuals and legal experts have joined the tribunal. Headed by Jean-Paul Sartre, they include Vladimir Dedijer, Yugoslav historian and writer; Isaac Deutscher, writer and historian; Mehmet Ali Aybar, expert in international law and a member of parliament in Turkey; Mahmud Ali Pasuri, senior advocate, Supreme Court of Pakistan; former Mexican President Lázaro Cárdenas; David Dellinger and Stokely Carmichael of the United States, and similar prominent figures in the academic and legal fields in Italy, France, Japan and the Philippines.

As the preliminary meetings convened, the leading London conservative paper, the *Daily Telegraph*, opened a full-dress attack, headlining the resignations of various heads of state, from the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. These included Presidents Leopold Senghor of Senegal, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia.

Bertrand Russell replied to the resignations by regretting that sponsors of the Foundation had "yielded to intolerable pressure". He added that the tribunal was fully autonomous and would not bend to governmental pressure. This position was backed by members of the tribunal at a press conference November 16. Isaac Deutscher and Vladimir Dedijer emphasized that the tribunal would rigorously guard its independence from any interference by any state power, official or unofficial agency. They made it clear that it would finance its work through contributions from sympathetic individuals and organizations.

The tribunal has set up a Public Liason Commission, a Finance Commission, a Scientific Commission and a Legal Commission. It will send investigators to north and south Vietnam and invite witnesses to appear in Paris.

Skilled scientific workers have already volunteered to help in the inquiry and they will function under the direction of Professor Laurent Schwarz of the University of Paris, an eminent mathematician.

At the three-day preliminary meeting it was amply clear that the tribunal members, who are from many lands and diverse backgrounds, and who hold divergent philosophies, shared a common feeling of historic responsibility to bring out the truth

(See page 4)

Tribunal Sets Forth Aims & Objectives

The following are excerpts from the text of a statement issued by the International War Crimes Tribunal November 16.

"The Tribunal will examine all the evidence that be placed before it by any source or party . . . No evidence relevant to our purposes will be refused attention. No witness competent to testify . . . will be denied a hearing.

"The National Liberation Front of Vietnam and the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have assured us of their willingness to cooperate . . . The Cambodian head of state, Prince Sihanouk, has similarly offered to help by the production of evidence. We trust that they will honor their pledge and we shall gratefully accept their help, without prejudice to our own views or attitude. We renew, as a Tribunal, the appeal which Bertrand Russell has addressed in his name to the government of the United States. We invite the government of the United States to present evidence . . . and to instruct their officials or representatives to appear and state their case. Our purpose is to establish, without fear or favor, the full truth about this war. We sincerely hope that our efforts will contribute to the world's justice, to the reestablishment of peace and liberation of the oppressed peoples."

Vietnam Tribunal

(from page 1)

about what is happening in Vietnam and just who is guilty.

Some of the tribunal members were conscious of the historic precedent set by the commission headed by the American educator and philosopher John Dewy which undertook an impartial investigation into the notorious Moscow Trials of the thirties, and which amassed definitive proof that they were frame-ups concocted by Stalin and his secret police. The work of that courageous group of intellectuals, who resisted great pressures at the time, was eventually vindicated in the most resounding way.

The attitude of the Communist parties, both of the Khrushchevist and Maoist varieties, is still not clear. It appears that uncertainty exists in these circles as to what to say about the establishment of the International War Crimes Tribunal. While some Communist papers have sought to ignore or minimize its significance, others have responded positively. The Bulgarian Communist party, for example, gave it front-page prominence November 15.

It was quite evident in the preliminary meetings, that unlike many previous broad united-front committees, the leading participants in this one, such as Sartre, Dedijer and Deutscher, are determined to play an aggressive public role to push the work of the tribunal to a successful conclusion.

"The Canadian Voice of the Anti-Vietnam-War Movement"

CANADA VIETNAM NEWSLETTER

January, 1967 — Ottawa, Ontario — Price: 10c

Vietnam War Causing Inflation

U.S. Bombs Civilians

(Toronto Globe and Mail Editorial, Dec. 28)

In dispatches from Hanoi, Harrison E. Salisbury of The New York Times concludes that United States bombings of North Vietnam have inflicted considerable civilian casualties, contrary to Washington's official disclaimers.

A distinguished veteran of reporting from Communist nations, Mr. Salisbury found evidence of death and destruction in civilian areas in Hanoi and Namdinh, a large city 50 miles southeast of the capital. About Namdinh, he wrote: "It is apparent, on personal inspection, that block after block of ordinary housing, particularly surrounding a textile plant, has been smashed to rubble by repeated attacks by Seventh Fleet planes."

Mr. Salisbury concludes that "whatever the explanation, one can see that United States planes are dropping an enormous weight of explosives on purely civilian targets . . . President Johnson's announced policy that American targets in North Vietnam are steel and concrete rather than human lives seems to have little connection with the reality of attacks carried out by United States planes."

Relying mainly on his eyes, Mr. Salisbury does not speculate on the political and psychological effects of the raids. But his description of Hanoi as "a wartime city going about its business briskly, energetically, purposefully" does not suggest that war-weariness and defeatism are spreading rapidly among the people.

These reports are further evidence that there is little practical justification for the bombings. They strengthen the contention of many world leaders that a halt to the raids is the logical and essential first step toward negotiations.

It is likely that the bombings have inflicted less damage on the Communist war effort than they have inflicted on Washington's credibility. With their belated and grudging acknowledgement that civilian areas have been hit, U.S. officials are following a pattern established on such matters as the cost of the war, moves to intensify or escalate the conflict, and even the existence of earlier peace-feelers from Hanoi. In each case, officials will reluctantly own up to the reality only when presented with strong evidence — usually collected by enterprising U.S. journalists — that they have been less than honest.

Truth is usually the first victim in any war, since propaganda is an essential weapon for each side. But to justify the fact that the world's most powerful nation is attacking such a tiny adversary, U.S. leaders have constantly stressed their restraint, the limited nature of both their political ambitions and their military actions, and their readiness to negotiate a peaceful settlement without any preconditions.

It has become increasingly difficult for friends of the United States to accept the sincerity of these pronouncements. And if President Lyndon Johnson lacks credibility in the eyes of his friends, how can he possibly expect President Ho Chi Minh to take him at his word?

Times Unimpressed by Holiday Truces

The New York Times was bitterly unimpressed by the two short truces to which the U.S. agreed over the Christmas holidays.

"Kill and maim as many as you can up to 6 o'clock in the morning of Dec. 24, and start killing again on the morning of Dec. 26," the Times editorialized. "Do your damnedest until 6 a.m. Dec. 31 and again after Jan. 1, 1967, when it will be all right to slay, to bomb, to burn, to destroy crops and houses and the works of man until 6 o'clock on the morning of Dec. 24, 1967."

Arms Spending Real Villain

by Ed Finn

While irate housewives blame manufacturers, retailers, and labour unions for soaring prices, the *real* inflation villain goes almost unnoticed.

It is the war in Vietnam.

Granted, many business firms have set prices artificially high, and many unions have understandably sought larger-than-usual wage increases to maintain their members' purchasing power. Inflation is always accompanied by abnormal profits, but, generally speaking, the wage-price spiral is the *result* of inflation, not its cause.

Inflation is caused by too many dollars chasing too few commodities. Supply goes down, demand goes up, and rising prices are the inevitable consequence.

$55 Million a Day

The United States is now spending $55 million a day on the Vietnam war — $322,000 for every guerrilla killed. It will spend a total of $20 billion on the war during 1967. Defense contracts in the U.S. during the current fiscal year are expected to reach $40 billion.

Two effects of this enormous production of war materiel are to reduce the volume of consumer goods, while providing nearly full employment and thus putting more money in the hands of consumers. Thus the classic pattern of too much demand and too little supply is initiated.

Since Canada's satellite economy is inextricably linked with that of the United States, inflationary pressures in that country are very soon felt here.

Another factor is the practice of the U.S. government of issuing more currency in order to free more wealth for the war industries. This is a form of deliberate inflation which depresses the real value of workers' wages.

Grocers Blame War

The president of the Grocery Manufacturers of America, George W. Koch, said recently that the major blame for rising food prices "lies in the fact that the United States is at war."

While he was chiefly concerned with exonerating the food industry, his state-

(Continued on Page 4)

CANADA VIETNAM **NEWSLETTER**

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Editor: Jeff White

Editorial Board:

Ken Warren Gil Levine

Ed Finn Peter Mix

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Johnson No Dove

Once again, the U.S. has committed a grave provocation against the people of North Vietnam, by the bombing on Dec. 13 of residential areas in Hanoi, killing and wounding over 100 civilians, and damaging the Embassy of Peoples' China.

Just at the time when everyone was talking about a Christmas truce, and possibly overtures for a bombing pause, the U.S. chose once again to remind the world that it is more interested in gutting Vietnam and provoking China than in ending the war and getting out of the country. Not till December 27 did the U.S. finally admit that residential areas in Hanoi had definitely been bombed.

Those who think Johnson is sincerely trying to find a way to get out of Vietnam without "surrendering" would do well to read the newspapers. If Johnson wants to withdraw, why is he asking Congress for 9-10 billion dollars more to pay for the war? Why is he now spending $55 million a day to prosecute the war? Why has the U.S. troop commitment risen to 375,000, with 25,000 more expected shortly?

It is apparent that Johnson and his war-hawks have decided to go for a military victory in Vietnam. The farcical "pacification" program has proven a dismal failure: the U.S. plans to take over more of the actual fighting, freeing Ky's troops to carry on the "pacification" job.

Will the New Year bring an end to the Vietnam war? Only if Johnson decides to end it. And it seems clear that withdrawal of U.S. troops is not among LBJ's New Year's Resolutions. But thousands of determined Canadians and Americans are putting it at the top of their list.

McGill Professor Said To Be Doing War Research For U.S.

by Brenda Zannis,
Association at McGill to End the War in Vietnam

Considerable controversy erupted on the campus of McGill University over the publication in the Nov. 11 *McGill Daily* of an article which asserted that a professor of civil engineering is engaged in research to aid the U.S. war effort in Vietnam.

The front-page article charged that Dr. Raymond Yong, director of the Soil Mechanics Laboratory, "is trying to discover a method of determining soil solidity from the air. This would permit American pilots to know beforehand whether a strip of land is suitable for emergency landing and subsequent takeoff."

While Dr. Yong claimed the project was "perfectly above-board", he refused to discuss specific details of the project because "the U.S. government considers this information secret." He has been given security clearance by the RCMP, and even his own lab assistants were not told the nature of the work.

The McGill Students' Council dismissed the *Daily's* Editor, Sandy Gage, for allowing the article to be published, which they considered "libellous". Two weeks later, a special Canadian University Press commission recommended Gage's reinstatement, and the Students' Council acceded.

Dr. Yong is currently receiving a grant from the Defence Research Board in Ottawa. The Canadian Government spends $23,000,000 annually on military research to attract foreign (mainly U.S.) buyers for Canadian military products.

Both the Dean of Graduate Studies and the Chairman of the Civil Engineering Department admitted the possibility that Dr. Yong was working for the U.S. government, although Dean Mordell of the Engineering Faculty and the U.S. Embassy have denied knowledge of U.S. financial aid to Dr. Yong.

Dean Frost of Graduate Studies said that "a great many" McGill staff have contracts with the U.S. Army, Air Force, Navy, and several other agencies.

40% Favour U.S. Withdrawal

In the November election, a referendum was held in the Detroit suburb of Dearborn on the war in Vietnam. The question was, "Are you in favour of an immediate cease fire and withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam so that Vietnamese people can settle their own problems?"

Of those who voted in the referendum, 40% voted "yes" and 60% voted "no".

LODGE'S FORECAST

"When we have beaten the Army of North Vietnam and the main-force battalions of the Viet Cong, we have simply won the opportunity to get at the heart of the matter, which is more than 150,000 terrorist guerrillas, highly organized throughout the country and looking exactly like civilians."

— Henry Cabot Lodge,
Nov. 21, 1966

Russell, Sartre Defend War Crimes Tribunal

by Ken Warren

After a three-day preliminary session in London November 13-16, the International War Crimes Tribunal was formally constituted. A declaration of aims and objectives was adopted and technical and legal machinery set up to prepare for formal hearings scheduled for next March in Paris.

The Tribunal will send investigators to North and South Vietnam and invite witnesses to appear in Paris. Two hundred such witnesses are expected from Vietnam itself. Skilled scientific workers have already volunteered to help in the gathering of evidence.

Nuremberg Precedent

The Tribunal renewed Bertrand Russell's invitation to the U.S. government and President Johnson to appear in its defence.

In his letter of invitation, Lord Russell said, "The Tribunal has a solemn antecedent in the Nuremberg proceedings. U.S. Supreme Court Justice Jackson, under whose supervision the Nuremberg trials were held, summarized the issue and stated the basis of the present Tribunal: "If certain acts and violations of treaties are crimes, they are crimes whether the U.S. does them or whether Germany does them. We are not prepared to lay down a rule of criminal conduct against others which we would not be willing to have invoked against us.'"

In his opening report to the Tribunal, Lord Russell noted the absolute importance of creating faultless procedures for the admission of evidence, for the authority of the Tribunal and its reputation for fairness will follow from the correctness of its procedures. He called attention to the need to examine the U.S. government's case carefully in the likely event they fail to produce their own defence. "This Tribunal (must) study . . . the documents in which (the U.S. government) have set out the justification for (the war) so that this, too, will be a part of the record of this Tribunal . . . That no one today questions the facts established at the Nuremberg trials proves the merits of rigorous methods, not the impartiality of the victorious Allies."

He also answered the criticisms that the "Viet Cong" were guilty of atrocities and must be held equally responsible.

"The *prima facie* evidence of crimes . . . involves the assumption that the crimes of the apparent aggressor are unique, and that no equation can be made between the violence of the resistance of the victim and oppression of the aggressor. Only those who cannot distinguish the rising of the Warsaw Ghetto from the violence of the Gestapo, or the struggle for survival of the Maquis in France from the invading Nazi armies could fail to recognize the merit of examining the actions of the U.S. in a manner morally and qualitatively different from the actions of the Vietnamese resistance."

"A Deluge of Fire"

Jean-Paul Sartre answered the same question in the Paris weekly *Le Nouvel Observateur* in the following manner: "I refuse to place on the same level a group of impoverished peasants who are being run to earth with a huge army supported by a super-industrialized country of 200 million inhabitants. Furthermore, it is not the Vietnamese who have invaded the U.S. and precipitated a deluge of fire over a foreign country."

Support for the Tribunal has been received from anti-war committees in Montreal, Ottawa, and Toronto. A number of Canadian professors have endorsed the Tribunal; among them is Prof. James Steele. In the U.S., the New York Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee has voted to support the Tribunal. National committees to support the Tribunal have been formed in France and Japan, indicating the growing world-wide support.

Two of the most recent additions to the membership of the Tribunal are David Dellinger, editor of *Liberation*, an American pacifist magazine, and Floyd McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality.

"Our purpose," concludes the Tribunal's Statement of Aims, "is to establish, without fear or favour, the full truth about this war. We sincerely hope that our efforts will contribute to the world's justice, to the re-establishment of peace and the liberation of the oppressed peoples."

Funds are urgently needed to finance the Tribunal. Donations and inquiries concerning the Tribunal should be sent to Kenneth Warren, Box 70, Station "A", Ottawa.

U.S. Spurned Two Peace Bids - Thant

Two proposals for peace talks, accepted by North Vietnam, were rejected by the United States in 1964 and 1965, according to UN Secretary General U Thant.

The refusal of the U.S. to engage in the discussions was revealed last month by Newsweek magazine.

The first effort was in August, 1964, when Thant obtained the acceptance of North Vietnamese President Ho Chi Minh to a private meeting with top-level American leaders.

Thant then transmitted an invitation to Washington, through the late Adlai Stevenson, then U.S. ambassador to the UN. But the invitation was ignored.

In January, 1965, Thant again approached Stevenson with another request to meet with the North Vietnamese premier. Stevenson was reported to be "deeply distressed" when he told Thant that "Washington had made its own soundings through Canadian channels in Hanoi and had concluded that Ho Chi Minh had no interest in talking peace."

Thant sent word of the U.S. refusal to Hanoi, and 24 hours later the bombing of North Vietnam began.

Canadian External Affairs Minister Paul Martin has since denied that Canada had discouraged the U.S. from entering into peace talks with Ho.

$2,000 Per Person In Fire and Death

A mathematically inclined writer for Britain's New Statesman **magazine has figured out that, if the money the United States is planning to spend on the Vietnam war next year were simply divided up and given to the inhabitants of South Vietnam, every man, woman and child in that war-ravaged country would receive $2,000 each. That would give South Vietnam one of the highest per capita incomes in the world for 1967. Per capita personal income in Canada in 1965 was $1988.**

Instead, the money will be spent in bombing and burning, killing and crippling many more thousands of the Vietnamese people, destroying their crops and laying waste their countryside.

"LET'S GET OUT"

Frustration showed in the face of Sgt. M. C. Jackson, 25, who helped guard McNamara during the Secretary's tent briefing in the shadow of Phu Cat Mountain. The two men came face to face for a brief moment, but the Bronx sergeant said nothing to the Secretary. He wishes he had said something.

"I wanted to speak right up and tell him the boys are ready to go home," said the 1st Air Cavalryman, a 10-month veteran of eight bloody operations in the central Vietnam jungles.

"I wanted to ask him can't he do anything to get us out of here any faster. If the answer is withdraw, then let's go get out. We're not accomplishing anything here."

— N.Y. Post, Oct. 15, 1966

32,000 "ADVISERS"

U.S. Converts Thailand Into Giant Air Base

by Jeff White

In recent weeks, increasing attention has been focused on Thailand, a small country separated from Vietnam by Laos and Cambodia. Many observers are saying that Thailand will be "the next Vietnam". Why is Thailand so important now?

The developments in Thailand are, in fact, strikingly similar to the history of Vietnam. There is a guerrilla struggle being waged in Thailand, which the U.S. and its puppet Thai military government claim to be "Communist-led". The U.S. has recently been pouring more "advisers" into the country, to help fight the guerrillas, and is supplying helicopters and tanks. But these "advisers", we are solemnly assured, are not actually taking part in the fighting.

However, Pete Hamill of the *New York Post* wrote on Oct. 29 from Bangkok:

"The U.S. now has 32,000 fighting men in Thailand, which is 9,000 more than we had in South Vietnam in January, 1965. Some 80% of all the bombing of North Vietnam and the Ho Chi Minh Trail in Laos comes from six Thai bases. We have Special Forces men here training the Thais in guerrilla warfare. We are building a giant $500,000,000 sea-air base at Sattahip with a landing strip that will accommodate B-52's. We have already poured more than a billion dollars in economic and military aid into the country, and are donating more at the rate of $100,000,000 a year."

40,000 Vietnam Refugees

Most of the guerrilla activity is in the northeast, the most depressed area. It is a desert in the dry season, and flooded in the rainy season. There are 40,000 Vietnamese in the northeast, refugees from the French Indochina War. These people suffer harsh repression: they are not free to travel, and are forbidden to hold meetings. The Vietnamese are regarded by the Thai government as the main source of Communist influence. However, it is unlikely that they could launch a guerrilla struggle of their own accord. "Separated by physical appearance, custom, and language, the Vietnamese were distrusted as much by the Thai peasant as by the Thai policeman." (Maynard Parker in *The Atlantic Monthly*, Dec., 1966.)

The Thais are rebelling of their own accord. Parker continues: "While other Thais earn more than $150 a year, the northeasterner subsists on an average of barely $40. Americans complained of the northeasterners' lethargy. They were usually unaware that whole villages had been robbed of their vitality by the internal ravages of liver flukes and tuberculosis."

The government has organized a vast dragnet consisting of 28,000 soldiers in the northeast, especially along the 240 miles of frontier.

Giant U.S. Air Base

The concern of the U.S. to maintain a strong base of operations in Thailand is explained by the strategic importance of the country in prosecuting the war on Vietnam. There are F-4C Phantoms at Takli, F-105 Thunderchiefs at Korat, reconnaissance FR-101's at Udorn, and SAC tankers for mid-air refueling at Bangkok. When the U.S. first bombed North Vietnam on Feb. 7, 1965, most of the planes came from bases in Thailand.

If the U.S. decides to stay in Vietnam for an extended period, the importance of Thailand to their strategy will increase. If they decide to withdraw, the U.S. will cling tenaciously to Thailand as a last foothold in Southeast Asia. In any case, a successful national liberation struggle in Thailand would seriously weaken the power of the U.S. in Asia, and would lend considerable assistance to the Vietnamese guerrillas.

INFLATION

(Continued from Page 1)

ment is basically true. He said there is very little anyone can do to stop inflation as long as the Vietnam war continues.

"The once-vast food surpluses of the United States," he pointed out, "have been depleted because of increased foreign and domestic demands to the point where supply and demand have just about met."

Food prices will therefore remain high, and perhaps get even higher, as more and more of North America's productive capacity is diverted into the making of weapons and ancillary war supplies, instead of into consumer goods.

C. W. Gonick, editor of *Canadian Dimension*, also cites the war in Vietnam as the principal cause of the current inflation.

Strains on Economy

The vast war expenditures, he writes, have placed great strains on the entire North American economy — strains which have been most evident in such sectors as food, clothing, housing and services, where the producer is typically small in scale and where supply is not very flexible.

"Aside from the very slight prospect of an academic slowdown," he adds, "or, more plausibly, vigorous anti-inflationary measures taken by the Johnson administration, we shall have to live with inflation until the Vietnam war is ended."

In the circumstances, the real inflation fighters in Canada and the U.S. are not the hordes of outraged consumers but those citizens in the various peace organizations who oppose the Vietnam war and are doing their best to end it.

GI Describes Vietnam War As "Inhuman"

(The following comments were made by Pfc. Robert Taylor, to Barry Cunningham of the New York Post in Dau Tieng, Vietnam. Pfc. Taylor had just been through a bloody battle near the Cambodian border.)

"This place does something to your mind," he began. "People at home don't realize what Vietnam is like. You can't explain it in a letter. People wouldn't believe a human being could go through this kind of torture.

"People at home pick up a paper and they see 'light' casualties. It's always 'light' casualties. If our casualties got any 'lighter', we wouldn't have had a company any longer.

"One of our people got half his head chopped off. We didn't have a stretcher. It took us two hours to carry him out on a poncho. I couldn't stand it. We'd slip in the mud and drop him. The weeds were brushing against his head. All you could hear were guys around us screaming for medics.

"My family wonders why I stopped writing. Last week I got a letter. Did I see the President in Vietnam? All I could do was laugh. There wasn't a soldier out here that even knew Johnson had been here.

"'How are the restaurants?' somebody else wrote me. You see? People don't realize this place is inhuman. You can't explain it in a letter.

"I have sergeants who were in Korea. They say Korea wasn't nearly as bad as this place . . .

"For four months, we've been living in foxholes. Rain pours down on you every night. Half the people are sick most of the time. Guys you've known for seven or eight months drop dead in front of your eyes.

"Every time I get to thinking I'm going to make it through, somebody reminds me I've got eight more months left in Vietnam."

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CANADA VIETNAM NEWSLETTER

"The Canadian Voice of the Anti-Vietnam-War Movement"

Number 4 — Box 2352, Stn. "D", Ottawa, Ontario — January 21, 1967

NATIONAL INFORMATION BULLETIN

SPRING MOBILIZATION:

The big action this spring, comparable to the March 25-26 actions last year, will be a national rally in Toronto on March 4-5. The University of Toronto CEWV has issued the call. A massive rally is planned for the 4th, and Jean-Paul Sartre has been invited to speak, among others. On the 5th, a national student conference is planned, at which it is hoped all campus committees will be represented. Copies of the Call, and further information can be obtained by writing to the U of T CEWV, International Student Centre, University of Toronto.

NEWSLETTER TOUR:

The Canada/Vietnam Newsletter is sponsoring another organizing tour - this time it is a cross-country affair. Karen Kopperud of the U of T CEWV Communications Committee is visiting campuses in Ottawa, Sudbury, Port Arthur, Winnipeg, Regina, Saskatoon, Edmonton, Calgary, and Vancouver, speaking on "VIETNAM - THE BIG LIE", and selling the Newsletter. Our February issue will carry a report on the first half of her tour.

CIRCULATION DRIVE:

The Newsletter circulation drive is on its way to success, thanks to you - our supporters. Several committees have responded to our appeal with organized drives. However, this is no time to rest on our laurels! To avoid a crisis during the summer circulation slump, we must continue to build the circulation on a long-term basis. We are setting a target of 500 new subscribers in the next three months. You can help us do it.

BACK ISSUES AVAILABLE:

Back copies are still available at 5¢ each while they last. Or, for 6¢ a copy, we will mail back copies directly to your mailing list. Here's your chance to contribute to our sub appeal, and let us do all the work!

WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL:

The Tribunal is moving ahead as planned, and the first two investigating teams have left for Vietnam. The Tribunal is becoming the central theme of many anti-war protests, including the March 4-5 mobilization. If your organization is not already receiving it, you should ask for the Foundation Bulletin, a bi-weekly from the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, 342 West 84th St., New York, N.Y., 10024. All other inquiries should be directed to Kenneth Warren, Executive Secretary, Canadian Committee for the International War Crimes Tribunal, Box 70, Terminal "A" Ottawa, Ont.

The Editor

FAVHF in 1967

CANADA VIETNAM NEWSLETTER

"The Canadian Voice of the Anti-Vietnam-War Movement"

Box 2352, Stn. "D", Ottawa, Ontario

Dear Friend,

In the short history of Canada's anti-Vietnam-war movement, the Canada/Vietnam Newsletter has grown from modest beginnings into an essential part of the movement. It now represents the only national focus in Canada for the many anti-war groups spread out in this vast country. Often small and isolated, these groups find the Newsletter invaluable in reaching new people and in keeping abreast of the ever-changing developments in the war and the anti-war movement.

The most recent phenomenon in the movement has been the rapid growth of the student Committees to End the War in Vietnam, both in Universities and High Schools. These Committees have proven to be the most dynamic sector of the opposition to the war, and among the most avid supporters of the Newsletter.

The Newsletter must have finances to continue its important work. We have only two sources of money: sales and subscriptions, and donations from individual supporters.

We are asking you to help us help the movement to end the awful war in Vietnam. Your dollars will assure the continued expansion and improvement of the services provided by the Newsletter. Please give what you feel you can, to our local representative, or mail your contribution directly to us at the above address.

Thanking you in advance, I remain,

Yours for Peace in Vietnam,

Jeff White,
for the Editorial Board

Found in 1967

SUPPORT THE BERTRAND RUSSELL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

THE STUDENT COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

IS CALLING FOR THE FORMATION OF AN AD HOC COMMITTEE TO HELP PLAN

AN ACTION IN SASKATOON TO COINCIDE WITH THE ACTIONS ACROSS THE COUNTRY,

IN SUPPORT OF THE BERTRAND RUSSELL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL.

On March 4th and 5th Jean Paul Sartre and a number of other well known European and North American critics of the United States actions in Vietnam will speak in Toronto to build support for the tribunal. Meanwhile, a research staff of experts are collecting all information available about the war which will be published by the tribunal.

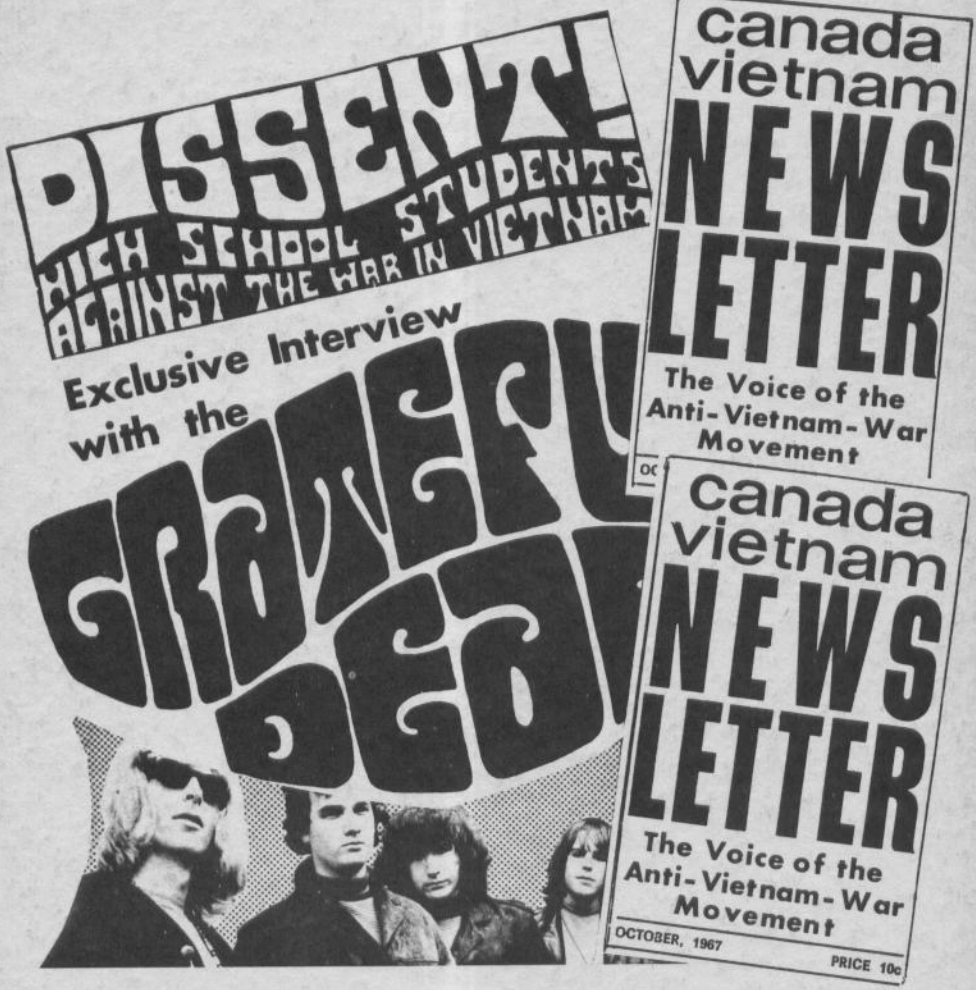
THE SASKATOON MEETING WILL BE ON

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 14th at 8:00P.M.

AT THE SASKATOON PUBLIC LIBRARY

OTTAWA'S COMPLICITY IN VIETNAM

a SAEWV pamphlet



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FORWARD TO

Student Association to End the War in Vietnam
Box 931
Terminal A, Toronto

canadian committee for the INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

(From a statement adopted by an initiating group of sponsors in Toronto, March 10, 1967)

Those of us who wish to see the facts of the war exhaustively examined and documented have formed the Canadian Committee for the International War Crimes Tribunal to assist in presenting the documented evidence before the conscience of mankind. The committee's long-range task is educational — to make known the truth of the war, if established, the fact of U.S. war crimes against peace and humanity.

It also has the responsibility of helping to meet the financial needs of the Tribunal. Teams of scientific workers are being dispatched to Vietnam to gather evidence, two hundred witnesses will be brought from Vietnam to testify before the Tribunal in Paris, the entire proceedings will be taped and filmed and made available to the world, publicity must be organized on the widest scale possible. The Tribunal receives no support from any state power; it relies only upon the conscience of humanity to supply the financial support needed.

The committee hopes to aid all Canadians who are in a position to come forward and offer evidence relevant to the Tribunal's investigations.

Support the efforts of the International War Crimes Tribunal — by sending in your donation — by placing your name and address on our mailing list — by circulating this appeal and other material on the work of the Tribunal — by arranging meetings, film showings, picture displays, etc. Where possible the Canadian Committee will supply speakers.

All enquiries and contributions should be forwarded to:
The Canadian Committee for the
International War Crimes Tribunal
758 Yonge Street, Room 6
Toronto 5, Canada **Phone 929-3612**
Ken Warren, Executive Secretary
Reverend Gene Young, Treasurer

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an APPEAL

(Found in 1967-)

As important as this conference is, it must be only the beginning ! For the need is to build a massive, national movement against Canada's support for the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam. In this conference we not only have the opportunity to launch such a movement, but the grave responsibility to do so. For our task is to end the war—a weighty and serious undertaking.

Let no one hope to end the war through isolated actions, no matter how impressive they may be. It is clear that the White House is so deeply committed in Vietnam that only massive, consistent, and prolonged opposition will be effective. President Johnson's bloody aims reach out far beyond the tiny nation of Vietnam. They are designed to slaughter popular movement throughout the colonial world.

The war is so murderous, and so great is the danger of its escalation into the ultimate nuclear armageddon, that it overshadows all other political issues of the day .However important our differences may be, they are all overshadowed by this war. These differences must not be allowed to impede effective opposition to Ottawa's role in the war.

All of the presently organized anti-war organizations are small. Even together we are still weak---because our aim must be to build an anti-Vietnam war movement much larger and much more powerful than any hitherto existing anti-war movement. But together we can start to build such an organization, a movement that could force an end to Canada's complicity, and help get the U.S. out of Vietnam.

As Canadians our responsibility is to expose, condemn and force a complete reversal in the policies of our own government. It is against Canadian complicity that this conference is directed, and a continuing anti-Vietnam war body must [illegible] primary direction. The effect of our forcing Ottawa into opposing the Vietnam war would be enormous. It would further expose the U.S. war to world opinion. It would give inspiration to those who are heroically opposing the Washington colossus within the confines of its own launching grounds. We must direct our fire primarily against the enemy within our own country--the Ottawa government.

This conference is going to lay plans for the united March on Ottawa. This is excellent. But we must look further ahead. We need to go beyond single actions. We need to plan a series of activities, to build that movement which can really end Canadian complicity, and help stop the Vietnam war. The co-ordinating committee to plan the March on Ottawa which will be established by this conference is a first step. It should be broad and representative of all those opposed to Canadian complicity. It should look beyond the March, and act to consolidate today's unity by moving to establish an anti-Vietnam war committee which will be a broad, an all-inclusive, and democratic organization. Such a body would mark a new and positive development and would offer real prospects of ending Ottawa's complicity, and of ending the Vietnam war.

Others are already taking action. In Alberta and in Vancouver anti-Vietnam war committees are being built and are moving into action. Out of this conference we can weld the base of a massive national movement to expose our government's hypocrigy, put an end to its support of this barbarous war, stop the slaughter of the Vietnamese, and eliminate the very real threat of nuclear incineration of all mankind.

That is the task ! Today we can begin to meet it !

THE LEAGUE FOR SOCIALIST ACTION

1 Cumberland St.
922-5665

Why SAEWV ?

FROM STATEMENT OF PURPOSES AND STRUCTURES OF THE STUDENT ASSOCIATION TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

"The student Vietnam protest has rapidly grown. It began last year with the formation of the University of British Columbia Vietnam Day Committees. Since then, twenty-two committees have been formed, most of which sprang up in response to the call for the Canadian Student Days of Protest issued by the University of Toronto CEWV. Students have been able to form a viable movement and they have reason to be justly proud. However, there is no structure for co-ordinated protest; the time has come to solidify the movement through the Student Association to End the War in Vietnam.

A cross country movement offers fantastic opportunities for building a truly massive movement to end this horrendous war. It was a cross country action which helped to initiate the movement. This perspective breaks through the isolation and impotence of local projects. The broad perspective helps overcome the natural seasonal ups and downs of local committees, and gives us the ability to organize new committees in localities where there is no spontaneous development. This perspective enables us to arrive at common agreement on programme; it makes possible effective participation in various student gatherings. Finally, the perspective of a country-wide movement permits a confrontation with our own merchants of death, the Canadian government."

as adopted by SAEWV founding conference
March 12, 1967, Toronto

Contact your local committee:

★ **SAEWV** was founded on Mar. 12, 1967 at a conference attended by representatives of 15 student Committees to End the War in Vietnam from Vancouver to Montreal, with a total membership of over 1,000.

★ **SAEWV** is an association of committees opposed to the war in Vietnam. SAEWV welcomes all student organizations opposed to the war to affiliate with it.

★ **SAEWV** was founded on the belief that through meetings, speak-outs, distributions and demonstrations, the majority of the Canadian people can be mobilized to end Canadian Complicity.

★ **SAEWV** is part of an international movement against the war in Vietnam, which has the support of a majority of the people of the world. We see our activities as part of a far broader protest, especially in the United States, which CAN END THE WAR.

★ **SAEWV** holds annual conferences where the leadership is elected and policy is decided upon. Each committee has delegated representatives to each conference. Between conferences, the working committee based in Toronto carries out SAEWV decisions.

★ **SAEWV** CALLS FOR AN END TO CANADIAN COMPLICITY AND IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. TROOPS.

SUPPORT THE STUDENT ASSOCIATION TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

☐ I support the aims of SAEWV.

☐ Please send me more information about SAEWV.

☐ Enclosed is my $..... contribution to help SAEWV.

Name.....

Address.....

City.....

Province.....

School or Organization .....

Clip and mail to:

Student Association to End the War in Vietnam
Box 931
Terminal A, Toronto

The Student Association To End the War in Vietnam

SAEWV

Statement of Principles

The following statement of principles was adopted unanimously by the **Student Association to End the War in Vietnam** at its founding conference on March 12, 1967.

The war in Vietnam is the most important conflict our generation has seen. The late Bernard Fall, internationally known expert on guerilla warfare, wrote: "Vietnam is not Munich; it is Spain." As the Spanish Civil War decided the course of history in its time, so the Vietnamese war will determine the future for us. The right of the Spanish people to self-determination was defeated. We must not let this happen again.

The parallels are many. Vietnam is being used as a testing ground for the most horrendous weapons and strategies of modern warfare, as was Spain. And, as the Spanish Civil War was a prelude to World War II, so Vietnam threatens to be the spark of an international nuclear holocaust.

A HISTORICAL STRUGGLE

The people of Vietnam have seen their country ravaged by foreign armies three times in as many decades. They carried a successful struggle against the Japanese during World War II, only to have French colonial rule re-imposed. For nine years they fought the French, achieving victory in 1954. But again they were set back as a result of American violation of the Geneva Accords. In the south, American aid placed in power the ruthless dictator Ngo Dinh Diem. The promised elections and reunification never took place.

Today, hundreds of thousands of Americans, New Zealanders, Australians, South Koreans, and Thais are fighting in Vietnam. These armed forces, which the majority of the Vietnamese people and international law justifiably view as invaders, are following a 'scorched earth' policy in Vietnam — burning, killing and destroying throughout the countryside. The greatest casualties in the north and south have been civilians — men, women, and children burned by napalm and white phosphorous, poisoned by 'non-toxic' gases, starved by 'defoliation' techniques, killed by more bombs than were used by the United States against Nazi Germany.

The Vietnamese people have the right to self-determination, a right which we ask for ourselves, a right the United States fought for in 1776. Rather than allow them to choose a government which might not adhere to the State Department line, the U.S. Administration has initiated a bloody war of conquest.

END THE WAR NOW! this was the cry of 10,000 Canadians who demonstrated against the war on March 26, 1966

In Vietnam, around the world, and in the U.S. itself, this war has met unprecedented opposition. The half-million American troops and the saturation bombing of north Vietnam have only increased the will of the Vietnamese to resist. On an international level, the United States is finding itself increasingly isolated. And an international movement against the war has grown up, taking inspiration from the ever-growing anti-war movement in the United States.

The **Student Association to End the War in Vietnam,** formed on March 12, 1967, is a part of this international movement. We are students who are appalled by this immoral, illegal and unjust war. We have come together to make more effective our actions to end the war in Vietnam.

CANADIAN COMPLICITY

We stand in complete opposition to the criminal complicity of Ottawa in this war. From the International Control Commission to the House of Commons, from Geneva to the United Nations, Ottawa's diplomatic role has been to shore up and cover up U.S. intervention in Vietnam which makes a sham of its "peace efforts" and claims to be neutral. Canadian-made armaments, with at least the tacit approval of the government, play a significant role in the American war effort.

We reject the American claim that the war has its roots in 'aggression' from the north. **Vietnam is one country!** It is clear that this struggle began and is deeply rooted in the south. Aid from the north is both logical and defensible.

WITHDRAW U.S. TROOPS

The United States has no right whatsoever to be in Vietnam and the presence of U.S. troops in that country is calculated to violently prevent national self-determination for the people of that country. Therefore we demand the immediate withdrawal of all armies of the U.S. and its allies from Vietnam in order to allow the people of Vietnam to settle their affairs in a manner acceptable to them and in keeping with their national aspirations and their right to self-determination.

We support the demands of Americans opposing the war to obtain the status of conscientious objectors and stand willing to aid these Americans to settle in Canada if they so wish.

Alone, we cannot end the war. But as a country-wide student movement, as part of a far broader movement in the community, as part of an **international** movement which includes hundreds of thousands of people in the United States itself, we can be a powerful force to win self-determination for the Vietnamese people.

There is no time to be lost. The fate of the Vietnamese people and of humanity is at stake.

REPORT from HANOI

HEAR

RABBI

ABRAHAM FEINBERG

Just Home from Viet-Nam

MASSEY HALL

SUNDAY, FEB. 5th

8:30 p.m.

SPONSORED BY: The Citizens' Committee to welcome Rabbi Feinberg

Rev: Father Greggory Baum
Rev. Emlyn Davies
Rev. James Fiske
Rev. Ray Horde
Rev. Ernest Howse
Prof. Kenneth McNaught
Rev. John Morgan

- EVERYONE WELCOME -

FOR INFORMATION PHONE: 927-3210

Found in 1969

THE
MIDTOWN COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

presents:

a film: **North Vietnam**

by FELIX GREENE

a speaker:

a speaker:

a speaker: **U.S. War Veteran**

Thursday, March 14, 8 pm

Friends House

60 LOWTHER AVE. (1 BLOCK NORTH ST. GEORGE-BEDFORD SUBWAY EXIT)

further information:
Bonnie or Ned Dmytryshyn
927-7250

contribut- towards the work of the Midtown Committee: M.C.T.E.W.V., Box 741, Station F, Toronto 5

everyone welcome - refreshments

PRESS RELEASE

PRESS RELEASE

For immediate release

April 18, 1967

Local anti-war activists expressed shock and dismay at the proposed police ban on demonstrations at Expo. Members of the Voice of Women on Vietnam ridiculed the idea that demonstrations against the Vietnam war were likely to cause violence. "I've just come back from New York, where last weekend nearly half a million people protested the war, without the least incident of violence occurring" said one member.

The Committee has been planning for some while now to demonstrate against the war on July 1, at Expo. It considers the police plan to deny permission to this demonstration, while permitting those of other groups like the Knights of Columbus, as a clear violation of the basic rights of freedom of association and expression. "Obviously the police are discriminating against certain groups" the committee member stated.

The committee intends to oppose the police plan on two counts: 1) that Expo, which will be visited by hundreds of thousands of persons, is by virtue of this fact, a public gathering place, 2) that it has been built by public funds. It considers the police ban unconstitutional, and has contacted other groups calling on them to defend their basic civil rights threatened by the proposed law.

-30-

for further information: 273-5734
renseignements: 843-5284

an appeal to Canadians

I am pleased to learn that Canadians are joining the ranks of supporters of the International War Crimes Tribunal. It is imperative that a wide public in the West understand fully what the United States is doing to the people of Vietnam, North and South. The public sessions of the Tribunal, which will start in Paris on April 26, will hear the most extensive evidence, not only from victims, but also from Western, conservative newspapers and from the Tribunal's own international investigatory teams which are travelling to Vietnam from many parts of the world. The findings of the Tribunal, together with the evidence, will be published throughout the world, not least in the West. It is my earnest hope that in this way we shall help to create a massive, irresistible public demand for the ending of atrocities which the greatest military power in history, each day less furtive than the previous, is committing against a small peasant people.

Vietnam is to the Nineteen Sixties what Spain was to the Thirties. The conduct of the United States' war in Vietnam challenges everything that is decent in our civilization. I appeal for the widest support in Canada for our Tribunal. Please help us with your time, your money and your efforts to investigate and expose the horror of this war.

Signed,
BERTRAND RUSSELL

All enquiries and contributions should be forwarded to:
The Canadian Committee for the
International War Crimes Tribunal
758 Yonge Street, Room 6
Toronto 5, Canada **Phone 929-3612**
Ken Warren, Executive Secretary
Reverend Gene Young, Treasurer

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Bertrand Russell's

Opening statement to the first session of the International War Crimes Tribunal in Stockholm

The world is numbed by the arrogant brutality of the United States Government. We meet in this opening session of the International War Crimes Tribunal at an alarming time. The United States is beginning an enormous new onslaught against the people of Vietnam. The sordid military machine which rules Washington is readying itself for greater destruction. In a fever of frustration over the humiliating defeats inflicted on her occupying armies in South Vietnam, the United States Government in hysteria and hate boasts of its intent, and its intent is evil.

Our Tribunal is not a group of disembodied formalists, quibbling over definitions or posturing an immoral lack of decision about these events. There is one reason for this International War Crimes Tribunal: Overwhelming evidence besieges us daily of crimes without precedent. Each moment greater horror is perpetrated against the people of Vietnam. We investigate in order to expose. We document in order to indict. We arouse consciousness in order to create mass resistance. This is our purpose and the acid test of our integrity and honour.

How frantic is the United States Government to stop us. Lies are hurled like napalm bombs. The fragments of these planned untruths find their way into the media of communication so responsible for the deception of ignorant men. The Government of France exposes itself before the world as a pathetic citadel of hypocrisy and spinelessness.

This is no token of our weakness. It is the very opposite. The feverish effort to conceal American crimes is matched by the frantic campaign against those who stand out against them. Let us take this as a tribute.

Hitler's Nazis buried the evidence of their barbarism throughout Europe. This Europe is a vast grave of interred cruelty. Auschwitz did its work for years. The evidence cannot be denied.

When Nazi power was defeated belatedly, did anyone lack knowledge of the extermination and experiment, of the cold cruelty and arrogance of the Nazi war criminals? The evidence was overwhelming.

Must we contort ourselves to deny the equally compelling evidence of war crimes in Vietnam? It is unseemly for men with a particle of self-respect to dissemble about what the United States Government has done to Vietnam. Auschwitz existed. It was all the more incumbent upon men to investigate why it was built, what it did and who was responsible. The vast evidence was no reason to hold back from enquiry; it was a mandate to expose, in the vain hope that men might learn the shameful lesson of their moral cowardice — for Auschwitz is our responsibility. We failed to stop it. We condemned it too late.

Crimes, barbarous crimes, are reported daily from Vietnam. They are crimes of an aggressor, an occupier, a tormentor. Our task is to display this truth to the people of the world. Our duty is to investigate every fact so that every fact will serve to arouse passionate resistance. We do this because we have knowledge which compels us to act against inhuman behaviour. Those who wish to apologize for U.S. crimes and who would excuse their own failure to act against them will try to impose a distinction between moral clarity and intellectual probity. In doing so they project their own double default. We must state the evidence before our eyes. Without this overwhelming evidence there would have been no Tribunal. Where crime is known, it is cause for enquiry and judgment. The truth compels an exhaustive investigation to document and compile the full record.

The full record includes the moving and unparalleled resistance of the people of Vietnam. Those who would call the rising of the Warsaw Ghetto a crime will consider the resistance in Vietnam in the same light. Those who lack all feeling for the heroism of the partisans in Yugoslavia, Denmark and Norway will seek to equate the relentless annihilation of Vietnam by the U.S. rulers with the valiant resistance of the Vietnamese partisans. Let apologists for Nazism make this equation. There is no truth in it, less honour in its advocacy and complete moral turpitude in its imposition.

The force of our Tribunal lies in the impeccability of its procedures and the thoroughness of its investigation. The evidence we marshall will be undeniable. Let us rest confident in this mission. Let us repudiate the demand that we feign ignorance of the Lidices and Guernicas occurring daily in Vietnam.

Our enquiry is inspired by deep conviction. That is its strength. When brutal crimes are committed, conviction is a test of respect for facts and the courage to display that respect.

It is good that Sweden has received us. To our supporters we owe much gratitude. They deserve the credit for ensuring that the democratic achievements of Sweden are not submerged. This too is part of the struggle of our time. Weak men protect cruel men. Good men are the victims of both. When the Dewey Commission met in the United States no one used the absurd sanctity of a head of state to equate a brave historic enquiry by renowned men with insult. Politesse is not at issue. The right to criticize men of power should be inviolate even if governments are more culpable than any individual spokesmen for them. It is our historic duty to transform cruelty and cowardice by upholding values on which civilization has always depended.

We do not supplicate for the right to investigate the crimes of war committed by Western governments in Vietnam: we demand it. We do not hesitate about the connection between our knowledge of crimes and the necessity to test this knowledge in public enquiry: we proclaim it. Moral purpose cannot be separated from the concern for truth. The burning children of Vietnam are martyred by the Western world. Their suffering, like that of the gassed Jews of Auschwitz, is a basic feature of the civilization which we have built. There is, however, another part of our culture which has also been built and which has produced our own martyrs over the centuries. This Tribunal is in the tradition of that struggle and of that achievement: our art, our science, our music, our humanity.

It is our culture which is at stake. It is our barbarism which menaces it. It is not possible to organize society for plunder and mass murder without terrifying consequences. Our scientists and engineers, our chemists and researchers, our technology and economic system have been mobilized for murder.

In Vietnam we have done what Hitler did in Europe. We shall suffer the degradation of Nazi Germany unless we act. "Untermensch" is a word which lives again in the vocabulary of powerful men in Washington who speak of "yellow dwarfs" and "coonskins".

The pity is not in the suffering of Vietnam. Her people resist and are heroic. The pity is in the smug streets of Europe and the complacent cities of North America so debased as to be indifferent even as our own fate is enacted in Vietnam.

The International War Crimes Tribunal is a revolutionary tribunal. We have no armies and no gallows. We lack power, even the power of mass communication. It is overdue that those without power sit in judgment over those who have it. This test we must meet, alone if need be. We are responsible before history.

May 2. 1967

Notes on the Anti-War Movement

(The following are the main conclusions of the anti-war discussion in the July 6-11 Plenum, as drawn up by a committee of the Plenum.)

1. The building of a mass, single-issue anti-war movement in Canada remains one of the main priorities of the Canadian section. The Vietnam war is the pivot of the counter-revolutionary military actions of imperialism, and as revolutionary internationalists, we bear the responsibility of defending the Vietnamese revolution by building the Canadian anti-war movement. Despite the fact that Canadian armed forces are not fighting on Vietnamese soil, Canada is engaged in the war through political, diplomatic, ideological and commercial complicity of the Canadian ruling class. As well, the geographic and cultural proximity of Canada to the U.S. gives us a unique role of support and encouragement to the U.S. anti-war movement. Further, we have advantages which the U.S. movement lacks: a labour party which is formally against the war; a trade union movement which has condemned the war in its highest bodies; and a strong anti-military tradition among one-third of the population--French Canada. While the less direct involvement of Canada in the war has cushioned the impact of the war here, compared to the U.S., this impact will grow as the war continues to escalate. Our perspective is not one of limited support actions, but of the building of a mass movement.

2. Although the country-wide organization projected in the 1966 convention document has not been built, important gains have been made. Membership committees have been built in many points, particularly Montreal and Toronto, and strengthened in Vancouver. The April 15 action in Vancouver saw a deepening of trade union involvement, and increased NDP support. July 1, in terms of participation from across the country, was the most significant action taken by the movement to date. SAEWV, while still weak, is a viable country-wide organization. April 15 in Vancouver and July 1 in Montral show the possibility of building broad coordinating committees around specific mobilizations. These mobilization committees are the most effective form of broadening the movement. They are more flexible than permanent coordinating committees which are often dominated by the old CP-pacifist groups which have been long since bypassed by the opposition to the war in Vietnam.

3. Anti-war work has become one of the main activities of our branches. Through this work we have confronted and worked with other tendencies. Young militants have not only been brought into direct action against the war, but have seen the Communist Party, the sectarian groups on the left, and the NDP leadership for what they are. As a result, anti-war work has been the major source of recruitment for our movement. In the next period, recruitment from this area should be given added priority. The LSA/LSO must present itself openly in the anti-war movement. We must present a rounded alternative to the capitalist war drive so that militants attracted by the fight against imperialist war can be most easily brought to the revolutionary socialist alternative. Militants need more than the single-issue opposition if they are to continue to see perspective in the battle.

4. The single-issue character of the committees must be maintained if the movement is to reach the broadest layers of the population, and if it is to involve organizations, groups, and individuals of different political persuasions. But while insisting on the single-issue character of the committees, we must much more clearly present Trotskyism as an open tendency in the movement. Publicly known spokesmen for our movement should sit on leading bodies of these committees, particularly where the committees have already become established, where they contain independents or representatives of other tendencies. In the coming period more material arguing the class alternative to the war drive and the war must be presented in the name of the LSA/LSO to anti-war militants. We must draw further generalizations on the question of Canadian complicity. Canada's position in the imperialist war alliances-NATO and NORAD-must be related to Canada's support for the war. The demand to end all complicity, in-

cluding the demand to withdraw from NATO and NORAD will be raised by the LSA/LSO.

5. Anti-war militants can be mobilized for major actions, but we have experienced considerable difficulty in getting them involved in the day to day routine of the anti-war committees. Membership committees are the vehicle for building a mass anti-war movement--free from the domination of the CP-liberal-pacifist bloc, and strong enough to push the trade unions and NDP into action. It is essential that we constantly work to strengthen these committees;that we work to make them much broader than ourselves;that we encourage independent activists and representatives of other groups or tendencies to play a central role in these committeesand in their leading bodies. In that context we should be organizationally flexible;meetings should be planned to ensure the broadest attendance and participation;leading bodies should be able to add militants to themselves so soon after an experience with them as possible.

6. The anti-war movement will become a mass movement in Canada, with the most profound repercussions on the U.S. only if the major organizations of the working class become involved. It is our responsibility to get the NDP and trade union movement to take supporting actions to build mobilizations, rallies, etc., and to generally solidarize themselves with the movement.

7. We will have to build close working relations with trade union militants in order to get the trade union movement involved. We should mobilize pressure on the leading bodies of the union movement to become identified with the anti-war movement. This has already been done to a limited extent in Vancouver(April 15) and a beginning was made in Montreal for July 1. Leading figures such as Neale, Laberge, Finn, are useful as sponsors and are necessary links between the anti-war movement and the trade union movement as a whole. Such connections must be carefully fostered and expanded. Trade union rank-and-file anti-war committees can become a reality only when the union bureaucracy has proved to be hostile to trade union anti-war action and if there is some feeling in the ranks of the union movement for such committees.

In general, the same applies to Vietnam work in the NDP. Opposition to the war and support for anti-war actions is much broader than the forces around the Socialist Caucus at this time. We should use channels separate from the Socialist Caucus to pressure the Party into anti-war work, and avoid identifying the demand for anti-war action with the Socialist Caucus. Where possible prominent NDPers on the constituency and higher levels should be encouraged to take a leading role in proposing anti-war actions. (The Socialist Caucus, of course, should continue to make the demand for anti-war action a central part of its program.)

8. The main slogans remain "Withdraw U.S. Troops Now" and "End Canadian Complicity". In fact these have become the predominant slogans in Canada. We must continue to struggle to make these the primary demands of the anti-war movement, and to fight the advocates of negotiations and those who want the movement to limit itself to protesting only the bombing of North Vietnam. Those demands implicitly blame both sides in the conflict. While pushing the anti-imperialist slogans our primary task is the building of a massive anti-war movement. We argue for our two main slogans, but must always bear in mind that we intend to build the biggest and broadest anti-war demonstrations. Even minimal themes like "End the War in Vietnam" are acceptable, as long as the demonstrations are non-exclusive, with freedom of slogans. In such circumstances our slogans will easily become the predominant ones. However we must strongly resist any attempt to make "End the Bombing" or "Negotiate Now" the main slogans of the anti-war movement. If made the themes, those demands restrict slogans to liberal do-goodism and appeals to the consciences of the militarists.

9. In planning mobilizations we should attempt to get the broadest possible involvement. Our objective is to build the broadest and most powerful mobilization against the war. As for exposing our opponents, this will take place in the course of events as they carry an opportunist or sectarian line. Although our main objective is to involve the trade union movement and the NDP, the CP is very important-primarily

because of the negative role it plays. This was shown on July 1. By its Trotsky-baiting and its separatist-baiting it was a factor in limiting the size of contingents, particularly in Ontario. In the smaller centres of Ontario and Western Canada, the CP still has a stronghold in the peace movement. In Vancouver the strngth of the CP means that it is very difficult for us to make important breakthroughs, particularly to the trade unions, without at least its indifference if not its support. We must be sensitive to this negative role, try to neutralize the CP and its periphery, and patiently struggle to win its anti-war periphery away from it.

10. The Canada/Vietnam Newsletter, in addition to its basic work of broad education, and of giving direction to the activists, continues to do the work of binding together the movement on a Canada-wide level. All branches must circulate it and ensure that it gets the material it needs to be an effective voice of the anti-war movement. The October 21 Mobilization will be the next major anti-war action in Canada. It must be made a Canada-wide action. A CVN tour of Canada right after the beginning of the school term would be a great asset in building this action and would strengthen the CVN as the coordinator of the movement in Canada.

"The Canadian Voice of the Anti-Vietnam-War Movement"

CANADA VIETNAM NEWSLETTER

SEPTEMBER, 1967 Toronto, Ontario Price: 10c

U. S. Pushes Toward War With China

by Jeff White

The Vietnam war is being pushed with alarming speed towards a war with China.

No other conclusion is possible in the light of the latest U.S. escalation of the war to China's borders and beyond: on August 21, two American A-6 bombers were shot down over Chinese territory. China quite justifiably protested this violation of her air space as a "blatant provocation against the Chinese people", and said they were ready to fight to defend their country against American aggression.

As a shocked world held its breath in anticipation of the possible consequences of this provocation, the Pentagon shamelessly attempted to brush the matter off lightly. The planes, they said, had been pursued by North Vietnamese MIG fighters into China, they said, and added, "We are confident Peking is aware that the

(Continued on page 2)

CONSISTENT RECORD!

CANADIAN GOVT. BLOCKS MEDICAL AID PROGRAMS!

The Canadian government's claims that they are sending medical aid to Vietnam are often used as a cover-up for the verbal and material support they are giving the U.S. war effort in Vietnam. Yet even this fig-leaf has been rudely snatched away from the government by its own consistent record of blocking and sabotaging medical aid projects.

Last month, the Canadian government was complicit in a U.S. move to stop a medical aid project by the American Quakers. After the U.S. government had placed an embargo on medical aid to Vietnam under the Trading with the Enemy Act, the Quakers wanted to channel the aid through Canada. But the Canadian customs officials refused to allow the Quakers to mail the parcels from Canada without authorization from Washington D.C.!

The medical aid for Vietnam was mostly a pitiful supply of bandaids, purely a token effort compared with the 60 million dollars a day the U.S. spends to kill and maim Vietnamese. But it's the thought that counts, and the Quakers' sentiments evidently do not coincide with the Canadian government's. Despite continued protest, the government has refused to release the Quakers' medical supplies.

Canada's Miserable Record

Last April, the **Star Weekly** magazine featured an article explaining how the Canadian government had' stalled and dragged its feet in a medical aid project headed by Dr. Gustave Gingras of Montreal. The government's lack of interest in the project resulted in the total scuttling of the plan.

And again, last July, a Canadian doctor, Michael Hall, complained that the External Aid office in Ottawa had refused to stand behind his requests for badly-needed equipment. Dr. Hall had been sent to Vietnam to teach orthopedic surgery, but was forced to leave in suffering hundreds of civilians whom he could not help, for lack of equipment.

"When you see people with legs rotting around you and you know that all the Canadian government has to do to help them is to sign a chit of paper — which they won't — you feel very strongly," Dr. Hall said.

The Medical Aid Fraud

It is clear from its consistent record that the Canadian government does not sincerely want to aid the victims of the war in Vietnam. This should come as no surprise when one considers that the government supports U.S. policy in Vietnam. Canadian medical aid projects are a tokenist effort — a sop to those whose consciences are uneasy about the slaughter, and who want to feel that Canada is not responsible for it in any way.

But Canada is responsible in a very real way. Our businessmen make 300 million dollars a year in arms sales to the U.S. The same people who get rich by selling the planes and explosives pretend to show concern for Vietnamese lives with their mythical "aid" projects. The utter hyprocrisy of this situation leads inevitably to the conclusion that Canadian government aid to Vietnam war victims is a fraud.

MEDICAL AID THAT GOT THROUGH
Dr. Alan Inglis of Canadian Aid for Vietnam Civilians inspects shipment of medical supplies as it leaves Vancouver for Vietnam.

CANADA VIETNAM **NEWSLETTER**

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Box 141, Station F, Toronto, Canada

EDITOR: JEFF WHITE

EDITORIAL BOARD:

MILTON LITTLE KEN WARREN JOE YOUNG

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

ED FINN GIL LEVINE PETER MIX

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Pearson Backs the War

The recent interview with Prime Minister Pearson in the July **Maclean's** should help dispel many illusions fostered by our government about its position on the Vietnam war.

Pearson first justified the U.S. attack on the Vietnamese people: "I thought the Americans were entitled at the beginning to respond to the request of the South Vietnam government for help to defend themselves against armed subversive action fomented and organized from the North."

His ignorance of history is appalling! But is it really ignorance? Does the invitation of a military dictator really justify the invasion by a great military power of a small peasant nation which has been fighting for independence for decades? Ngo Dinh Diem, who first invited the U.S. in, was nothing but their stooge.

Our (one is ashamed to use this adjective) Prime Minister also seems to feel that when one brother attempts to help another in a nation that others have arbitrarily divided, that is a crime. Vietnam is one nation. No arbitrary division by great powers can alter that. Marshal Ky of South Vietnam is North Vietnamese, and the Premier of North Vietnam is from the South. To term aid of one brother to another as "aggression" is to twist words in order to excuse the most horrible crimes. It is the American troops who are fighting 10,000 miles from home — not the Vietnamese guerrilla — be he from the North or the South.

Pearson continues: "The initial purpose of their intervention seemed to me justifiable and not imperialistic. Indeed, I think that in many ways the Americans are the least imperialistic people in history. They don't want to spread around the world as the British did, carrying the white man's burdens and benefits. They want to stay home, drink Coca-Cola and go to baseball games."

Can we equate the American GI with the cynical politicians and generals who send them to fight and die in foreign wars of oppression? Pearson is cleverly trying to adopt the image of the self-sacrificing American, doing what he does only out of a sense of duty. We are not fooled! The American soldier is only a pawn in the designs of big business and big politicians, the only people who profit from wars. Huge demonstrations in the U.S. have shown what the American people feel. Pearson's heart-rending picture will not excuse those who send American boys to die in the mire, not knowing why.

(Continued on page 4)

U. S. Pushes War to China's Borders

(Continued from page 1)

United States is not seeking an involvement with Communist China." An incredible statement!

White House Press Secretary George Christian predicted very matter-of-factly that despite the "U.S. precautions" such incidents would probably re-occur in future! Such cynical pronouncements reveal an utter disregard for the consequences of provoking a war with China.

China Ready to Fight

The Peking **People's Daily** promised the Americans of those consequences: "If the Americans impose a war forcibly on the Chinese people, the Chinese will be ready to fight them to the end."

The U.S. government is playing games with the lives of millions of people, without the slightest pangs of conscience.

The encroachment on Chinese air space climaxed a steady build-up of the war over a period of several weeks. As the bombs fell within 10 miles of Chinese soil, apprehension grew among the opponents of the war, and even among Congressional critics of LBJ's maniacal war policy. But the Johnson administration proceeded with its plans to extend the war, blithely stating that their escalation constituted "no menace" to China.

But the very real menace was brought out dramatically when the two bombers were downed by China. Even if these particular planes had not intended to violate Chinese air space, the result was that they did. And this result was the inevitable outcome of a war policy that includes escalation to the very threshold of China's territory.

Rationale for Escalation

The rationale for extending the bombing of North Vietnam, of course, is that the Americans want to cut off the alleged supply lines coming from North to South Vietnam. In keeping with their theory that the war is basically an aggression from the North, the Americans hope to stop the war by "sealing off" the South from outside "infiltration". But in spite of repeated heavy bombing of the North, the South Vietnamese have not lost ground. In fact, American talk of a "stalemate" in South Vietnam is a sure sign that they are losing the war there.

In frustration and desperation, Johnson's armies are bombing closer and closer to China, the ultimate object of their hostilities, who they feel is somehow responsible for their losses in the South. But the further they go the more they imperil the entire human race. The time has come for all humanity to call a halt to the American aggression in Vietnam.

C V N EDITOR IN CUBA:

CUBANS SEE VIET WAR AS THEIR OWN

by Jeff White

As Canadians we are used to living in a country where the government not only supports the war in Vietnam, but harrasses the anti-war movement and scuttles humanitarian efforts to aid the hapless war victims. Imagine my delight, therefore, at having the opportunity to visit Cuba — a country whose government and people are actively engaged in the world-wide struggle to get the Americans out of Vietnam. While in Cuba last month, I had the opportunity to talk over lunch with Orlando Fundora, Manager of Radio Havana Cuba, Director of the Cuban press agency, **Prensa Latina,** and a functionary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The main topic of our conversation was of course the anti-war movement in Cuba.

Year of Heroic Vietnam

He told me that the year 1967 had been designated by the Cuban government as "The Year of Heroic Vietnam". The move, he explained, was in response to the American escalation of the war. "It is our way of escalating our solidarity with the people of Vietnam." he said.

I asked him about the Cuban Committee for Solidarity with Vietnam, the nation-wide organization of the Cuban anti-war movement. "The Committee's primary function," he explained, "is to make the Cuban people understand more fully the meaning of the war. It organizes mass rallies and public exhibitions of photographs of the war. . . The Committee maintains contact with similar organizations throughout the world, and generally co-ordinates all aspects of international solidarity with Vietnam."

The average Cuban feels a deep sense of solidarity with the Vietnamese people. "Every Cuban," Fundora told me, "sees the Vietnam war as his own war. This has been illustrated many times in mass rallies: Fidel asks them if they are willing to go to Vietnam and fight against the U.S. aggressors, and they all raise their hands and cheer. The Committee here in Havana has received thousands of letters from Cubans volunteering to go to Vietnam to aid the liberation struggle."

Cuban Aid

The Cubans, he told me, are sending foodstuffs to Vietnam, principally sugar. As well, they have sent technicians and doctors to assist the Vietnamese, and have given scholarships to many Vietnamese students. "In spite of our own limitations," said Fundora, "we are doing the best we can."

A few months ago, the Cubans had a big blood donor drive, raising blood for Vietnam. The campaign was carried principally through the CTC (Cuban Workers Confederation) and the CDR's (Committees to Defend the Revolution). Thousands of Cubans responded to the appeal for donations.

"Your struggle is our struggle" Signs such as this one, expressing solidarity with the Vietnamese struggle, can be seen everywhere in Cuba. Even in the most isolated rural areas, people show a real identification with their Vietnamese brothers.

"Our blood campaign was the object of vilification by the U.S. press, which claimed we were taking blood forcibly from political prisoners," Fundora told me. "This is of course a lie. We do not have to rely on the blood of counter-revolutionaries, when thousands of Cuban revolutionaries are willing to give their blood to help the Vietnamese."

"Two, Three, Many Vietnams"

Finally, I asked him about the call of Che Guevara, former Minister of Industries in Cuba, for the creation of "two, three, . . . many Vietnams", i.e., more guerrilla-type revolutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America. I also pointed out by contrast that many people in Canada and elsewhere oppose the war because they are against **all** wars.

"There are many ways to end a war," he said." . . . We would prefer that there be no wars. But some wars are necessary. To oppose war in the abstract is an idealist position, full of naivete. But from a realistic approach, we see imperialism as an evil, a cancer which has to be operated on and ended. On the other hand, we think that when new Vietnams erupt, e.g. in Latin America, it does not necessarily mean that they are declaring war on the U.S. imperialism, but that they are responding to a war imposed on them by imperialism. . . A great defeat of the imperialist forces in Vietnam would force them to think twice before they attack another people."

CANADIAN I. C. C. REP. EXPELLED FROM HANOI

Once again, Canadian representatives on the ICC in Hanoi have been accused of spying for the United States.

A radio broadcast from North Vietnam revealed that the second chief delegate from Canada on the International Control Commission in Hanoi had been asked to leave the country on July 28. The Canadian, Captain James MacFie, was said to be engaged in "activities detrimental to North Vietnam's security".

Only last May, an associate editor of the Montreal Star, Gerald Clark, shocked the country by charging in a front page story that Canadians on the ICC were passing intelligence reports from Hanoi to U.S. agencies. (See June Newsletter).

This latest charge of spying coming from the Vietnamese themselves therefore comes as no surprise to anyone who has followed the ignominious history of the ICC and Canada's role on the Commission as representative of the aims and interests of the U.S. State Department. Ever since Canadian representatives decided that the dictatorial government of South Vietnam was not bound by the Geneva Accords of 1954, the ICC has been rendered useless in carrying out its assigned task, namely that of implementing the 1954 Accords.

BACKGROUND:

The Terror of NAPALM

by Ken Warren

Every other day our daily press carries stories and photos of Vietnamese villages being bombed with napalm, one of the most horrible weapons ever devised for burning and mutilating. Hideous, sickening pictures are shown of the victims of a napalm raid — women, men, children, their bodies charred black or grotesquely deformed by napalm. Vast areas of Vietnamese jungle are defoliated and razed to the ground with these incendiary bombs, leaving the precious Vietnamese soil barren and deserted for many years.

Napalm is a jelly-like substance, very highly explosive, and very sticky. It is composed of benzine, gasoline, and polystyrene: the latter gives it thickness and its adhesive quality. When a napalm bomb explodes, it sends a shower of flaming jelly in every direction, where it sticks to flesh, clothing, buildings, trees, and anything else that happens to be around. It burns with a bright orange flame at temperatures up to 2,000 degrees, and is inextinguishable by ordinary means, except complete immersion in water. Once it has stuck, it cannot be brushed off.

"Not Meant for Humans"

Napalm was first developed toward the end of World War II. One of the inventors of the chemical, Prof. Louis F. Fieser of Harvard, explains, "Napalm was originally developed to be used against military targets. No one ever thought it would be used against humans."

Perhaps Prof. Fieser was not as far-sighted as the Pentagon hawks, who were not long in assessing napalm's use in committing the most barbarous form of mass mutilation and torture since the atom bomb.

Once spattered by napalm, the victim becomes a flaming torch. His flesh melts in the intense heat, and the flames quickly penetrate to the bone. Bystanders who are untouched by the jelly are easily ignited by the sheer heat of the flames. Because it requires a great volume of oxygen to burn napalm, victims hiding in enclosed spaces, such as shelters or tunnels, may die of suffocation.

Napalm Takes Its Toll

The pitiful victims of napalm burns were described by Robert Guillain, of **Le Monde,** who visited a hospital: "There were several of the 'napalmed'. An old man whose torso and arms disappeared under heavy bandages. A young girl with her face frightfully swollen and bespattered with burns. A little chap, twelve years old perhaps, who was finishing his convalescence in a wheel-chair; at the end of his legs there were only some sort of fearful reddish stumps, all that remained of his poor feet destroyed by napalm."

In the United States, the main napalm producers are Dow Chemical, Chemetron Corp., Tenneco, United Aircraft, and Witco Chemical Co. **Dow Chemical of Canada, in Sarnia, Ont., makes polystyrene for the parent company in the States, who then use it in the manufacture of napalm.**

Napalm is just one of the many forms of death and destruction that the American invaders have brought to the people of Vietnam, but it is the most fiendish of all. The immorality of their weapons underlines the injustice of the American intervention, and only stiffens the resistance of the Vietnamese freedom fighters, while increasing the revulsion of decent-thinking people the world over.

The Wheels of Democracy Grind On

An AP report on the upcoming elections in Vietnam included the following quotations:

"I will vote because the Government asked me to. The Government is very powerful, and when they ask us to do something we're expected to do it." — a schoolteacher.

"I want the shooting to stop and my family to be safe. We have had elections before, and the war goes on. These are rich men; they don't understand. It won't make any difference who wins." — a rice farmer.

"I don't think all the people here (in Hue) are opposing me. No one can expect the full support of the country." — candidate Nguyen Cao Ky.

READ THIS!

Has your subscription expired? Many people's have. If so, you should renew today, so you will continue receiving the **Newsletter** for the next year (if the war lasts that long).

Or perhaps you are a new reader of the **Newsletter.** In that case, you have already missed more than you should. Every person in Canada who seriously opposes the war should have a subscription to the **Newsletter.** And so should his friends.

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Pearson Takes His Mask Off

(Continued from page 2)

"The Americans have been perhaps more careful than any great power in history to avoid the full use of power in war against an enemy." Does he forget that the U.S. used atomic weapons on Japan in 1945?

"They have bombed the North, but they have tried to bomb only military targets. They have killed civilians in the process, but that happens in any kind of bombing, however tragic it may be. . . The Americans, unfortunately for them, have received no credit for any restraint they may have shown."

Has this "right honourable" man not read the eyewitness reports of deliberate bombing of civilian targets? And what of the voluminous evidence presented to the International War Crimes Tribunal? Such offhanded dismissal of the slaughter of thousands of innocents makes Pearson as guilty of their murder as the war criminals in Washington.

How does he justify his government's criminal complicity? ". . . We can't ignore the fact that the first result of any open breach with the United States over Vietnam . . . would be a more critical examination by Washington of certain special aspects of our relationship from which we, as well as they, get great benefit." What he is trying to say behind all the verbiage is that our economic dependence on the U.S. forces us to follow Washington's line.

It's a very convincing argument. Like the line of a con artist. The government is all too eager to cover for the U.S. and receive the rewarding arms contracts in return. Our government is a willing accomplice in genocide. It does not need any prompting to obey. Canadian business has some three billion dollars invested overseas which they are very anxious to protect.

The interview is a real expose of our "peace-loving" government. Everyone should read it if possible, and remember peace-prize Pearson's words on October 21 next, the latest International Days of Protest.

BULLETIN of the student association to end the war in vietnam

Volume 2, No. 10 Oct. 14, 1967

758 Yonge St.
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OCT. 21 INTERNATIONAL PROTEST

People around the world are determined to end the war in Vietnam. On October 21 they will express their sentiments in marches throughout the world. Canadians will be among those who will be marching. They will be demanding the IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. TROOPS and an END TO CANADIAN COMPLICITY. As the reports below show this war is moving thousands of Canadians into action for the first time. Especially on the universities the feelings of a majority of the students is being turned into concrete manifestations of protest.

Toronto:
Buses and cars from St. Catherines, Sarnia, Hamilton and London will be coming to Toronto. The demonstation will march along the street from Queens Park to the City Hall. A group of 200 will detach from the main demonstration and protest in front of the Liberal Party's headquarters.

U. of T. CEWV as well as other CEWV's in the Toronto area are building floats and preparing mimes.

High School Students Against the War in Vietnam (SAWV) now has approximately 1000 signatures on their teach-in petitions. A model teach-in will be held at W. A. Porter High School with Joe Young debating an official from the U.S. Consulate. U. of T. Professors Committee has offered SAWV aid in the campaign.

Sudbury: - a new committee has been formed in Sudbury.

Edmonton:
is raising money from students and professors. They are placing ad's in newspapers (previous ones have raised $200-$400). The CEWV is expecting the largest demonstration ever held in Edmonton.

London:
campus committee is in full swing. They will be showing films and having Gus Tolentino speaking. Sending buses to Toronto.

SEE PAGE 2.

CONFERENCE

The second annual SAEWV conference will be held during the Christmas holdiays, in Toronto. At this conference a new working committee will be elected and plans will be discussed for future offensives against the war and Canadian complicity. A particularly important part of the conference will be an exchange of experiences between the various committee members. This conference should be much larger than the first since many new committees have been formed and affiliated to SAEWV since its founding on March 12 of this year. Each committee is entitled to two (2) representatives and any number of observers can come and particpate in the discussion. The working committee will attempt to subsidize those coming from the Maritimes and the Prairies. Any suggestions as to the format and exact time are welcome.

Winnipeg:
sent in a massive order for buttons and posters to help to build their demonstration.

Waterloo:
Joe Young addressed a meeting at Waterloo Lutheran University on Oct. 5 along with a showing of the Threatening Sky. There were over 100 persons in the audience and the speech was very well received. After the meeting 30 persons met to plan a demonstration in Waterloo on Oct. 21 and a motorcade and bus to Toronto to join the main demonstration.

Montreal:
A co-ordianting body has been set up and a leading CNTU member is participating.

Fredricton:
is planning to send buses down to Washington for Oct. 21. Sent in a big order for posters, buttons and leaflets.

Sarnia:
is sending several buses to Toronto for Oct. 21.

Saskatoon:
is inviting a Vietnam veteran from Madison, Wisconsin to speak and are arranging a debate among college chaplains to help build Oct. 21.

Guelph:
is planning a meeting on Oct. 11 with the Threatening Sky and Joe Young.

Ottawa:
is planning a demonstration and rally on Parliament hill with the Living Theatre from Montreal participating.

Vancouver:
is planning a massive demonstration. Details have not arrived as yet

Calgary:
held a meeting for Gus Tolentino on Oct. 8.

Bulletin of the Student Association to End the War in Vietnam.

758 Yonge St. Room 6, Tor. 5, Ont.

Editor: Ken Wolfson

Signed articles do not neccessarily represent the opinons of the editor.

FINANCIAL REPORT SEPT. 67

Expenses:

Mailing	$17.04
Threatening Sky	150.00
Buttons, Oct. 21	83.07
Loan	68.05
	318.61

Income:

Contributions	$45.75
Sale of Buttons	63.80
Literature	18.65
Threatening Sky	75.00
Payments from committees for posters, buttons leaflets etc.	170.25
	373.35

U.S. REPORTS

Buffalo:
Buffalo station WGR-TV question of the day for Oct. 2, was "Should the U.S. withdraw from Vietnam." The phone-in response was 64% yes, 36%no.

New York:
has rented at least 500 buses and one train.

Boston:
has rented a train holding 1,500 which will travel through Conneticut picking up people on its way to Washington.

Philadelphia:
has ordered 50 buses for Oct. 21.

Chicago:
expects 500 to a thousand to go to Washington.

Los Angles:
is chartering a plane and is planing a car caravan to cross the U.S.

Washington:
The demonstration will begin at 10 am at the Lincoln Memorial and the Washington Momument.

pamphlet exposes

CANADIAN AID IN WORD & DEED

The following is an exerpt from SAEWV'S pamphlet on Canadian Complicity which will be out shortly. The pamphlet is a care--fully documented study of the Canadian government ' s role in Vietnam.

The Liberal government (and its Tory supporters) claim to support a "negotiated solution" to the war. But this is in all relevant respects indentical to the position of President Johnson, who "justifies" each successive escalation of the war by pointing to the "stubborn" (and courageous) refusal of both Hanoi and the NLF ---- particular the former---to capitulate. Of course, the Pearson government's support for a "negotiated solution" to the war is perfectly consistent with support for American objectives in Vietnam. By their very nature, demands for negotiations are naturally directed at <u>both</u> sides in the struggle. (If one side refuses to participate, there can be no dialogue.) Since the Johnson administration obviously has no intention to negotiate, but is aiming for total victory over the Vietnamese revolution, and a possible war with China, the appeals of the advocates for "negotiations" are inevitably addressed to the <u>victim</u> of aggression, the NLF and the north Vietnamese.

Thus, when U.N. Secretary General U Thant called for a unilateral ceasefire by the United States, Pearson condemned his proposal as "unrealistic", because "it did not appear to require any reciprocal let-up in the war by the Viet Cong guerrillas." (Globe and Mail, April 5, 1967). Far from condeming the American escalation, Pearson even had the gall to state, on June 27, that "even an unconditional cessation of bombing has now been linked by the authorities of North Vietnam, in certain of the more recent statements, with the withdrawal of U.S. forces as well, before negotiations can begin. I hope that we shall not have this escalation in demand on the side of the North." (Globe and Mail, June 28, 1967).

When Martin states, as he did in a speech to the Association of Survivors of Nazi Oppression, that "We take second place to no country in doing our best to bring the war to an end on honorable terms", we can be sure that it is not the honor of the Vietnamese people which concerns him.

"1956 VOTE" - GENEVA CONFERENCE

7. The Conference declares that the settlement of political problems, effected on the basis of respect for the principles of independence, unity and territorial integrity, shall permit the Vietnamese people to enjoy the fundamental freedoms, guaranteed by democratic institutions established as a result of free general elections by secret ballot. In order to ensure that sufficient progress in the restoration of peace has been made, and that all the necessary conditions obtain for free expression of the national will, general elections shall be held in July, 1956, under the supervision of an international commission composed of representatives of the Member States of the International Supervisory Commission. Consulations will be held on this subject between the competent representative authorities of the two zones from 20 July 1955 onward.

MARTIN SETS THE STAGE FOR FURTHER ESCALATION

by Joe Young

On Friday Sept. 30 it was reported in the Globe and Mail that Martin on the previous day declared, "Mr. Speaker, the Canadian government urged that there be a stop made in the bombing because at the present time it is the only way to test the willingness of North Vietnam to enter into negotiations and consultations with other countries in an effort to bring about accomodation."

Martin and the Liberal Party is playing the peace initiative, further escalation, peace initiative further escalation game. In response to wide-spread opposition to American government policies and continuing revelations of Canada's complicity in the war, the Canadian government is trying to head off opposition within Canada by appearing as a peace maker. At the same time it is doing Washington a service by giving credance to the phony negotiations line. Martin admitted quite candidly that he consulted with American officials before proceeding with his "initiative".

It is very interesting to note that only two days after Martin's statement Johnson declared piously that he was prepared to stop the bombing and meet with Ho Chi Minh. The strategy is clear. Both Johnson and Martin know that negotiations are unlikely to follow a bombing pause. After all, bombing is only one part of the attack on the Vietnamese people. Are they to negotiate with a country that continues to slaughter and attack the people of the south? On Sept. 28 Le Thanh Nghi, premier of north Vietnam stated explicitly "The United States and other vassel troops must withdraw from South Vietnam....There is no other alternative. The United States has no right to demand any "Reciprocity". SAEWV stands four square behind this statement. The people of Vietnam have the right to determine their own future. The United States has absolutely no right to negotiate about anything. These phony offers to take a pause in the bombing must be exposed for what they are only a means by which to confuse and befuddle opposition to their murderous policies in preparation for a further escalation. Martin shows the clear complicity of the Canadian government when he participates in this scheme. We demand that the Canadian government call for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops. Nothing less will satisfy the anti-war movement.

G.I. FIGHTS ARMY

Pfc. Howard Petrick, stationed at Fort Hood, Texas, has now been threatened with dishonorable discharge, rather then court martial.

In April of this year, Military Intelligence searched Petrick's foot - locker confiscating antiwar literature. He was advised he might be charged with disloyalty, subersion and creating disaffection within the army.

The immediate support Petrick received from the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and the American anti-war movement forced the army to reverse their original decision.

However Petrick replied to the dishornourable discharge threat by saying, "I do not object to a discharge under honorable conditions indeed, I request it. I request it because I and my fellow servicemen have been subject to harrassment by interrogation with respect to activities opposing the Vietnam war.

to be or not to be

DRAMA ON THE VIETNAM WAR

by Laurel Thompson

In the Sept. 17 Sunday New York Times, the French playwright Jean-Clade Van Itallie, author of "America Hurrah" makes a very strong case for political assertion and involvement in the art of drama. The playwrights' medium is "so immediate in its effect and source" he argues "that the content of his work must be in some sense political, having to do with the community." To do this, he must remind us of what, as human beings we have forsworn by tolerating (negligently or otherwise) the violent forces with which we now have come to live so casually, he must, in other words, make us recognize that destruction and violence are not autonomous forces, but creations of our own minds, tendencies within ourselves grown to the disproportion of total catastrophe.

The political play is not easy to write. Several recent attempts have been made to confront the Vietnam war on stage but at least two productions have not done more than catalogue atrocities, expose and abuse the hypocrisy of American propaganda and imitate theatrically and therefore presumptiously the agonizing brutality of the real daily destruction of Vietnam whose horrible fate no words will ever describe. The Royal Shakespeare production called "US" chose to assault its audience with a sensational happening - like dramatisation of brutality which was necessarily esthetically rather than ideologically convincing. The intention was to confront an already sympathetic audience (who else goes to see plays about Vietnam?) with madness made theatrical (the burning of a live butterfly on stage) by a series of moments acutely sensational. But rather gimmicky and pointless. At such times as these the committment of actors terms ie. pretend to be what you are not is valid and useful only if soemthing other than mere histrionics is being offered. The fault of such productions as "US" and "America Hurrah" is that they repeat what is already well known to concerned people and commit the further audacity of turning the Vietnam reality into esthetic experience while assuming a kind of more-committed-than-thou superiority over the passive spectators in the audience.

The situation is full of barbs, but nothing is to be gained from dramatising brutality unless there is an ideological point being made. This would require the finding of some answers to the questions which the Vietnam war asks of each of us. To do this the playwright's approach must be ideological, moral and dramatic, not sensational. The playwright must give us the language with which to confront the themes of our lives; he must provide the ideological skeleton of our thought, the true reality on whose basis the decisions must be made. In this sense, he must have some answers for the crisis, not just tears.

NEXT: FORMS OF PROTEST

YOU CAN HELP

The format of the BULLETIN has changed. This is to make the BULLETIN more readable and more attractive.

Your help is needed. You can help by sending in comments, criticisms, articles and of course, reports. This is the only way we can improve the BULLETIN and keep it interesting and up to date. The BULLETIN is published every three weeks, please send reports at least ten days prior to the next publishing date.

Ken Wolfson.

LITERATURE

The founding conference of SAEWV decided that one of the responsibilities of the working committee would be to make available literature to the committees. Below listed at sale price is the literature now available. Special rates will be given for bundle orders.

CANADA'S ROLE IN VIETNAM by Farley Mowat -- 25¢
FREE SPEECH FOR G.I.'s, the case of Howie Petrick -- 15¢
WAR AND REVOLUTION IN VIETNAM by Doug Janess -- 15¢
G.I.'s and the FIGHT AGAINST WAR by Mary Alice Waters -- 30¢
THE SAEWV LEAFLET -- free
LEAFLET ON THE PETRICK CASE -- free
BERTRAND RUSSELL'S OPENING STATEMENT to the War Crimes Tribunal -- 5¢
STUDENT MOBLIZER -- free.

OCTOBER 21 BUTTONS -- 25¢

OCTOBER 21 LEAFLETS -- free

FILMS

The following is a partial attempt to meet the requests of some committees for a listing of films on Vietnam and how to get them.

TIME OF THE L CUST - portrays the horror of the war to the background of LBJ's voice--Canadian Friends Service Committee, 60 Lowther Ave. Toronto 3.
THE THREATENING SKY --- introduced by Bertrand Russell--depicts the bombing of north Vietnam. SAEWV is circulating this film to committees at $25 a showing.
VOYAGE OF THE PHOENIX --- produced by the CBC - records the voyage of a Quaker boat to Haiphong with medical supplies -- American Friends Service Committee, 160 North 15th St., Philadelphia, Penn. 19102
VIETNAMESE FILMS from Canadian Aid for Vietnam Civilians, P.O. Box 2543, Vancouver, B.C.
FILMS FROM NORTH VIETNAM AND NLF may be obtained from Mark Sidney, Communist Party; Toronto Office, 24 Cecil St. Toronto 2B, Ont.
PRO-AMERICAN FILMS may be obtained from the Canadian Film Institute, 1762 Carling Ave, Ottawa 13, Ont. Night of the Dragon, narrated by Charlton Heston is shot in color, but is very crude.

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Nov. 1967

Saskatchewan New Democratic Party Says

* End Canadian Complicity in Vietnam

* Withdraw U.S. Troops

(The following resolution was passed by the 33,500 member Saskatchewan New Democratic Party at its Nov. 23-25 1967 Convention in Saskatoon.)

Whereas the people of Vietnam have been fighting for the simplest human rights for the past 25 years,

And whereas the presence of 500,000 American soldiers in South Vietnam constitutes the major obstacle to the Vietnamese attaining these rights,

And whereas the Canadian government supports and aids this totally unjust American intervention with diplomatic, moral and material support,

And whereas the danger of thermonuclear war grows immanent;

Therefore be it resolved that the New Democratic Party demand an immediate end to Canadian Complicity in the Vietnam war, an immediate cessation of sales of war material to the U.S. and more important that the Canadian government speak out clearly to disassociate itself from American policy in Vietnam.

And be it further resolved that the New Democratic Party call for immediate and unconditional cessation of bombing and use of napalm and white phosphorus, followed by complete withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam and a settlement based on the principle of self-determination for all the Vietnamese people.

And be it further resolved that we direct our National Executive and our federal M.P.'s to actively advance this policy.

Published with voluntary labor by the Socialist Caucus, Box 872 Station F, Toronto, Ontario, to help insure the widest possible circulation of this position. We urge you to get your club organization or trade union to endorse this stand now. For more copies write to the above address. Specify the number you want and enclose donation to cover help the costs.

U OF T FACULTY PROTEST

TORONTO—338 members of the University of Toronto faculty call for the "immediate unconditional and permanent end to the bombings of north and south Vietnam." In a statement issued to the press on January 5 they urged the Canadian Government to demand this of the U.S. and at the same time "reveal all military production contracts related in any way to the Vietnam war." They urged Ottawa to "consider following the example of Sweden in refusing to sell arms to the U.S. until this intervention ceases."

Its initiators pointed out in an enclosure that "although the students at this university have been fairly active in searching for ways of exerting pressure to bring this slaughter to an end, the faculty have done very little." Speaking on their behalf and in reference to a previous protest, Professor McNaught explained "a group of us came together and decided that with the fourth or fifth escalation of the war it was time to make known the opinion of the faculty again."

While nothing is said on this in the petition it is known that many of the faculty are gravely concerned about the use of Canadian university research facilities and personnel to aid the U.S. war effort. Early in November the editor of the Montreal McGill University student paper was fired for publication of an article revealing that a professor on that campus is working on such a U.S. financed project.

The statement signed by the 338 also calls for the withdrawal of U.S. military forces from Vietnam—with the rider—"as early as possible." The professors do not make it clear why they do not call for immediate withdrawal, why they think the American aggressor should decided this matter, and what factors should govern the timing of his decision.

Despite its limitation the statement by the 338 may well mark a significant development for the anti-war movement. The first serious sign of concern in professorial circles came in response to the November 11-12 Student Days of Protest initiated by the U of T CEWV. A sizeable group of faculty members on Sir George Williams University firmly solidarized themselves with the student action. Several U of T faculty members participated in student actions there around the November 11-12 protest. Professor McNaught expressed the opinion that there "seems to be a marked interest in making the committee a vehicle for continued action."

WORKERS
Vanguard

Vol. 11, No. 5 (125), January, 1967 — 3¹ — Toronto—10 Cents

External Affairs Minister Paul Martin's office was well aware that the U.S. was bombing central areas of Hanoi as early as December 13. On that day the headquarters of the Canadian permanent delegation in Hanoi suffered bomb damage. One of the five Canadians, according to New York Times correspondent Harrison Salisbury in his dispatch from Hanoi of January 8, sent some of the bomb fragments back to U.S. headquarters in Saigon with a note: "Look here chaps, this is getting a little bit too much."

WORKERS
Vanguard

Vol. 11, No. 6 (126) Mid-February, 1967 Toronto — 10 Cents

Build Assembly on Vietnam War

TORONTO — Everything is shaping up to make the March 11 Assembly to Tell the Truth About Vietnam a big and militant protest against the U.S. murderous aggression against the Vietnamese freedom struggle and Ottawa's complicity in it.

The project was initiated by the University of Toronto Committee to End the War in Vietnam which took the lead in organizing the highly successful across-Canada protest last November 11-12. All the Toronto area community Committees to End the War in Vietnam are solidly behind it, including the Toronto Co-ordinating Committee, along with high school groups in both Toronto and Ottawa, and the CEWV's at both the University of Western Ontario (London) and Carleton University (Ottawa).

Among the featured speakers at the Assembly will be the Reverend James Bevel, staff member of Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference and national director of the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. This committee is in the process of preparing massive demonstrations in New York and San Francisco on April 15.

The contribution of Dr. Gustavo Tolentino, a well-known figure in the Canadian anti-war movement, will

Rev. James L. Bevel

be another highlight for he has just returned from an extended visit of Cambodia and Vietnam. Dr. Tolentino went into the Hanoi area as a member of the second investigating team for the Bertrand Russell- initiated International War Crimes Tribunal. He has already appeared on CBC's Sunday program. He will be introduced to the Assembly by Ken Warren, secretary of the Canadian Committee for the International War Crimes Tribunal which is sponsored by a growing number of eminent Canadians.

Professor James Steele, the author of *Rationale for War in Vietnam*, one of the first studies of Canadian involvement in the war in Vietnam, will also address the assembly.

The following day a student conference will be held to found a Canada-wide Student Vietnam Action Federation. Its success is already assured. There are now seven discussion papers in from various points and there will be delegates from right across the country — from Vancouver, Edmonton, Saskatoon, throughout Ontario, Montreal and elsewhere.

The Assembly will open at 10 a.m. on Saturday, March 11, at Convocation Hall, on the U of T campus, and will extend over the day. That evening a social affair featuring eminent artists will take place at the Carpenters' Hall.

Workers Vanguard

US Bombers Smash Health Station School At Campha, N of Haiphong, Vietnam

Hanoi Charges Canada Violates ICC Obligation

"The Canadian government has not lived up to its obligations as a member of the International Control Commission," and is guilty of "a hostile act against the Vietnamese people which runs counter to the role of a member of the International Control Commission." That opinion appeared in the official press of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, *Nhan Dan*, on January 28, 1967.

This charge was Hanoi's response to Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson's declaration that his government would continue to sell weapons to the U.S. It sharply cut through External Affairs Minister Paul Martin's claims that Canada, through its membership on the International Control Commission, has some special status in the eyes of the Ho Chi Minh regime as a neutral, as an instrument for establishing peace in Vietnam.

"Not only has the Canadian government not lived up to its obligations as a member of the International Commission in Vietnam, having the responsibility of preventing the aggressive acts of the U.S. and ensuring respect for and strict implementation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam, but has also lent a hand to the U.S. imperialists in their aggressive war," states this official voice of Hanoi. "The Vietnamese people know full well," *Nhan Dan* continued, "that the Canadian government has all along shielded and connived at the acts of intervention and aggression of the U.S. in both South and North Vietnam."

On February 1 the Liason Mission of the Vietnam People's Army High Command protested to the International Commission against Canada's continued sales of arms to the U.S. for use in Vietnam. "In face of this situation, the selling of arms by Canada to the U.S. must be considered an act of lending a hand to the U.S. aggressors in Vietnam. It completely runs counter to Canada's position as a member of the International Commission for Supervision and Control of the Implementation of the Geneva Agreements on Vietnam." The Mission urged the International Control Commission to "take measures to prevent all acts of Canada at encouraging and assisting the U.S. aggressors in Vietnam and sabotaging the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam."

WORKERS
Vanguard

Vol. 11, No. 7 (127) Mid-March, 1967 Toronto — 10 Cents

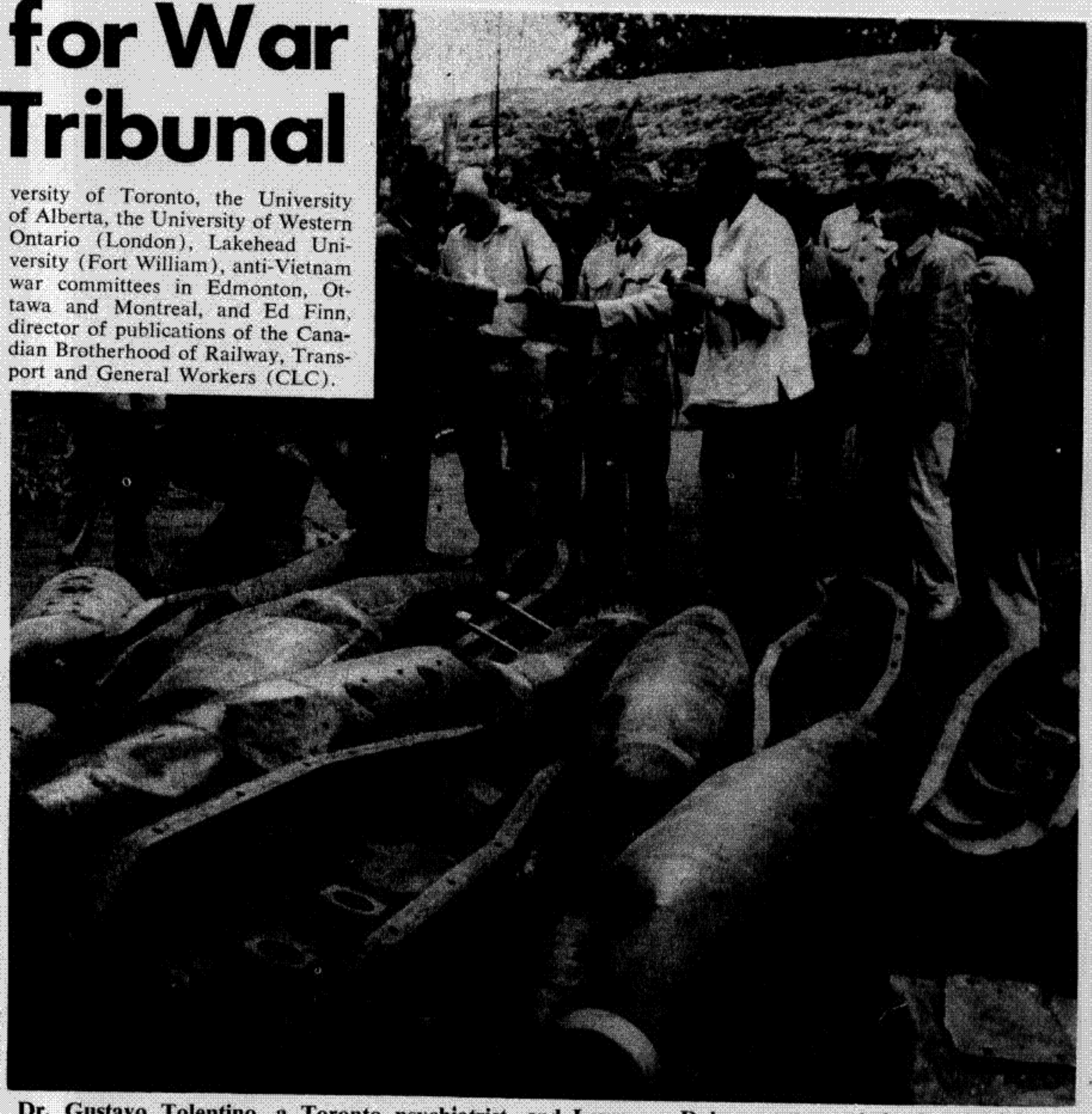
Support for War Crimes Tribunal

TORONTO—A Canadian Committee for the International War Crimes Tribunal was formally launched at a press conference held here on March 10. Among the sponsors of the committee who were in attendance were Professor Chandler Davis, Professor Hans Blumenfeld and Carmen Guild of the University of Toronto, Rev. Gene Young, Dr. Gustavo Tolentino, and Ken Warren, its executive secretary.

The Canadian Committee announced as its intention to assist the International War Crimes Tribunal. The Tribunal, with Bertrand Russell as its honorary president, Jean-Paul Sartre, executive president, and Vladimir Dedijer as chairman, will specifically investigate apparent U.S. war crimes in Vietnam against peace and humanity. The legal basis for its investigations are the *prima facie* evidence, presented daily in the press. Since it has no authority to proclaim punishment it will function not as a court of law but as a commission of inquiry, a grand jury, with the authority that the character of its members and correctness of its procedures will give it.

The Canadian Committee hopes to assist in presenting the facts on the Tribunal and its work to the Canadian public and to raise funds to help in its efforts. Dr Tolentino has just returned from investigations he made in the Hanoi area of Vietnam as a member of the second team of WCT investigators. The committee appeals to all Canadians who are in a position to do so, (in possible reference to Canadians who have served on the International Control Commission) to come forward and offer to give evidence relevant to the Tribunal's investigations.

The committee already has an imposing list of sponsors; among them leading academics at the University of Toronto, the University of Alberta, the University of Western Ontario (London), Lakehead University (Fort William), anti-Vietnam war committees in Edmonton, Ottawa and Montreal, and Ed Finn, director of publications of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers (CLC).



Dr. Gustavo Tolentino, a Toronto psychiatrist, and Lawrence Daly, secretary of the Scottish Mine Workers Union, are shown examining the tail of a U.S. bull-pup missile at Viet-Tri, in northern Vietnam. In the foreground are several cannisters for anti-personnel bombs that are being dropped indiscriminately and in great numbers under Washington's orders to maim and terrorize the population. Tolentino and Daly were members of the first team of investigators sent into Vietnam over January-February by the International War Crimes Tribunal. Dr. Tolentino was one of the featured speakers at the March 11 Toronto Assembly to Tell the Truth About Vietnam. He also participated with Joan Baez, Tom Hayden, and others, in the highly successful "teach-in" on Vietnam at Victoria, B.C., on March 18-19.

WORKERS Vanguard

U.S. Viet Protest Urges Int'l Support

The Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, a coalition of a broad spectrum of U.S. peace, civil rights, political and community organizations, is building what is now certain to be the most massive anti-war mobilization yet seen on this continent. People from coast to coast will flood into New York and San Francisco on April 15. In New York they will mass in Central Park, march across Manhattan to the United Nations, and there stage a rally of gigantic proportions.

The Student Mobilization Committee that came out of a Chicago conference of students has joined with a call for a Vietnam Week — April 8 to April 15. The numerous actions slated to take place on U.S. campuses that week will culminate in the New York and San Francisco demonstrations.

The SMC has now widened the appeal. It has issued a call to the peoples of the entire world to join in the Vietnam Week in an international demonstration against U.S. aggression in Vietnam. "We ask this expression," reads SMC's appeal, "in the name of international brotherhood and peace, in the name of humanity."

The Reverend James Bevel, the national director of the Spring Mobilization Committee, whose chairman was the late A. J. Muste, has announced that Reverend Martin Luther King will address the New York rally and that Reverend R. D. Abernathy has become a vice chairman, along with Dagmar Wilson of the Women Strike for Peace, Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of District 65 AFL-CIO, Dave Dellinger of *Liberation*, and Professors R. Greenblatt and S. Peck. The West Coast officers are Edward Keating of *Ramparts* and Kipp Dawson of the San Francisco State Vietnam Day Committee.

A promising new development are the connections that the anti-war movement is forming with the

(See page 2)

April 15 Int'l Viet Protest

(continued from page 1)

trade unions. The mobilization has been endorsed by the Santa Clara Central Labor Council and the Northern California Longshoremen's Union. Among the sponsors of the Chicago Peace Parade Rally slated for March 25 are the Trade Union Division of SANE, SDS, and Veterans for Peace. A principal speaker will be Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the United Automobile Workers.

Following the highly successful March 10-11 actions, the Canadian movement against the war in Vietnam is slating as its big effort demonstrations on July 1st, Confederation Day. A major point of concentration will be Expo at Montreal which will be attended by the Queen.

However there is a rising interest in the appeal that April 15th be an international day of protest. The Vancouver Vietnam Day Committee has asked the Peace Action League to co-sponsor an action that day. The Toronto Assembly to Tell the Truth About Vietnam, which had as its feature speaker Reverend James Bevel, endorsed the April 15 action, as did the conference that founded the Student Association to End the War in Vietnam.

The Toronto Coordinating Committee has approved of the idea of organizing buses to go to the New York action, with a big combined meeting and send-off for those able to take the 750 mile trip.

WORKERS Vanguard

CANADA-WIDE ORGANIZATION FORMED BY

ANTI-WAR STUDENTS

TORONTO — Students from across Canada gathered here over the March 11-12 weekend to launch the Student Association to End the War in Vietnam. Some 23 delegates, representing 13 university and high school committees from Montreal to Vancouver, and about 40 observers, took part in the conference which was called by the University of Toronto Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

The conference reflected the growth of the student anti-war movement which over the past 6 months has jumped from two commtttees to over 20. Particularly significant was the participation of French committees at the University of Ottawa and the Université de Montréal which have been formed only in the last two or three months.

Virtually every tendency was present at the conference. Observers (with voice but no vote) came from the Communist Party, the Progressive Workers Movement, the League for Socialist Action, The New Democratic Youth, the Student Union for Peace Action, and the Young Socialist Forum. It was noticeable that the majority of the delegates were new to radical politics, involved in no other organizations than the Vietnam committees.

The major debate at the conference was on the statement of principles. Some delegates and observers opposed the inclusion of a demand for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops on the grounds that it would tend to limit the growth of the movement. The majority, however, rejected this line of reasoning. Delegates argued that any other slogan was either unclear and inaccurate (as in the case of the 'withdraw all foreign troops' demand) or placed limitations on the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination (as in the case of demands for 'negotiations' or 'phased withdrawal'). The paragraph in question was carried with only four dissenting votes. The statement as a whole was adopted unanimously. The statement reads, in part:

"We stand in complete opposition to the criminal complicity of Ottawa in this war. From the International Control Commission to the House of Commons, from Geneva to the United Nations, Canada's diplomatic role has been to shore up and cover up United States intervention in Vietnam. Canadian-made armaments, with at least the tacit approval of the government, play a significant role in the American war effort. . . .

"The United States has no right whatsoever to be in Vietnam, and the presence of U.S. troops in that country is calculated to violently prevent national self-determination for the people of that country. Therefore we demand the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. armies and their allies in order to allow the people of Vietnam to settle their affairs in a manner acceptable to them and in keeping with their national aspirations.

"We support the demands of Americans opposing the war for the status of conscientious objectors, and stand willing to aid these Americans to settle in Canada if they so wish."

The conference projected a number of actions for the next period, including a mobilization, in conjunction with off-campus groups, on July 1, the 100th anniversary of Canada's Confederation. This action, protesting Canada's support of the U.S. war, would attempt to link with Quebecois protesting "100 years of Injustice" on that date, and would probably center on the International Exposition being held in Montreal this year.

In keeping with the internationalist spirit of the whole conference, the delegates voted solidarity with the U.S. Spring Mobilization. The high school workshop proposed to attempt to mobilize high school students across the country to demonstrate on April 15.

In response to a working paper submitted by Jeff White, editor of the *Canada-Vietnam Newsletter*, SAEWV voted to support the *Newsletter*, both by circulating it and by writing for it.

The elected officers of SAEWV are: Joe Young, York University (Toronto), chairman; Colleen Levis, University of Alberta, vice-chairman; and a working committee of Judy Oleniuk, U of T, Marlie Ritchie, U of T, Maxine Schecter, York U, and Jim Chisholm, Toronto SAWV.

The formation of SAEWV marks a giant step forward for the anti-war movement in Canada. In face of the decline of the old peace movements and the failure of the NDP to give a lead, the student youth have been playing an increasingly important role. That they will continue to do so was expressed in the speech of Colleen Levis at the beginning of the conference: **"In any bus there are people opposed to the war, on any street corner, in any gathering there are people who think the war is wrong; our task is to find these people and mobilize them, to convince them that we can and will end the war."**

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Van. Unionists Project Action Against US War

By L. Kavanagh

Close to 100 trade unionists attended a seminar on Vietnam in Vancouver, March 19. They decided to set up a continuing committee of trade unionists whose aim would be to build trade union involvement in opposition to the war. The meeting also decided to support the April 15 mobilization in Vancouver, and to meet again before that time to discuss specifics about getting union locals involved in the action.

Guest speaker at the seminar was Sidney Lens, formerly an autoworker involved in the great sit-down strikes in the 1930's, and now an official of the Building Service Employees in Chicago. He is also author of a number of books, including *Crisis of American Labor*, and *Futile Crusade*, and a leading member of the Committee for a SANE nuclear policy.

Lens made an impassioned appeal for the mobilization of the trade union movement against the war drive in both Canada and the United States. He pointed out that the war costs $2 billion per month, and that this comes out of the pockets of workers through inflation both in the U.S. and in economies dependent on the U.S., like Canada.

As a result of the war the threat of wage controls like those imposed in the Second World War hangs over the trade union movement, he said. He also explained that because of the war, the right to strike is becoming increasingly restricted. The "national interest" is used as a club against all workers now, no matter what they are producing.

He concluded by pointing out that the colonial revolution will not be contained. It is absurd, "to imagine that man's aspirations can be contained with guns." The struggle of the hundreds of millions in the colonial world is the same as the struggle fought by the American workers in the great Toledo Autolite strike, in the sit-downs, and all the great battles of the 1930's.

Frank Snowsell, past president of the BC NDP and a member of the Teachers Federation, also spoke. Particularly noteworthy was his support of the International War Crimes Tribunal.

Tom Clarke, a leading member of the IWA who just returned from 3½ months in jail for contempt as a result of his support for the Lenkurt strikers, chaired the seminar.

"There are people who think that the bombing should be slowed down, some who think it should be stopped altogether, and others like me who think that the Americans should just get the hell out of there, and that's it," he said. But, he emphasized, all opponents of the war who are active in the trade union movement must work together.

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On China's Cultural Revolution by Deutscher	.30
Upheaval in China by Novack & Hansen	.20
The Catastrophe in Indonesia	.50
Moscow vs. Peking by Warde	.25

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Ottawa Sits on Help for Vietnam Children

The agony of the children in southern Vietnam, their flesh seared by napalm and torn by anti-personnel bombs dropped by U.S. planes is, graphically recorded in the April 1 mass circulation Star Weekly. Here the napalm bomb wounds of Thai-Binh-Dan, of Long-An province in the north, are being examined by Toronto Dr. Gustavo Tolentino. The 17-year-old boy's village was bombed by U.S. planes over a year ago. Dr. Tolentino was a member of the second team of investigators sent into northern Vietnam over January - February by the International War Crimes Tribunal.

John Wilson

"If you want to do something, you do it. If you don't, you sit around thinking up excuses.

"You know what the holdup is, they say? The Vietnamese won't pay for the electricity, for Christ's sake. Here is a house on fire and a man is trying to get his kids out and up comes the milkman and says 'Hey, you owe me for last Tuesday.'"

It was with these bitter words that Dr. Gustave Gingras, internationally renowned as executive director of the Montreal Rehabilitation Institute, condemned the latest sordid example of the Canadian government's cynical complicity in Washington's murderous aggression against the Vietnamese people.

The central fact brought out in Walter Stewart's article in the April 1 issue of the *Star Weekly* is this: *for the past 18 months, while Vietnamese child victims of U.S. bombing have been burning, bleeding and dying, the Canadian government has been sitting on a medical aid program for South Vietnamese children because its implementation is opposed by the puppet regime of Hitler-loving Premier Nguyen Cao Ky.*

It was in July 1965 that Dr. Gingras was asked by the External Aid department to start organizing the child-aid program. On September 28, 1965 he flew to Saigon. On October 14, he returned to Canada, the bulk of his work accomplished; he had permission from the officials, a building to work from and a program that would cost the Pearson government less than $500,000 a year.

In response to all his work, performed without pay, Dr. Gingras, upon presenting his report, got what he himself describes as a "brush-off". External Aid's then director, H. O. Moran, was "too busy" to see him. He was met by an assistant who had only one instruction for him—"Don't talk to newsmen."

Undaunted, Dr. Gingras proceeded to round up volunteers to staff the rehabilitation center, confident the

(See page 3)

WORKERS Vanguard

Vol. 11, No. 8 (128) Mid-April, 1967 **Toronto — 10 Cents**

Ottawa Sinks Project for Vietnam Children

(continued from page 1)

project would go ahead. Then they waited, and waited, and waited.

It was not until December 16, 1966 — *fourteen months* after Dr. Gingras submitted his report—that Exeternal Affairs Minister Paul Martin announced that the project had been "postponed", allegedly because the necessary facilities were not available.

And where was this announcement made? To Dr. Gingras and his colleagues? In Canada? No, in Paris, to newsmen, in a casual aside by Martin who was attending a NATO council meeting.

Why? Because, as Stewart's article makes unmistakeably clear, of the refusal of the Ky regime to cooperate. Martin didn't want to admit this, so he started double talking about the supposed lack of facilities. As Gingras declared, "What facilities? We could put the whole shebang in a Yukon, fly over and use any building we could get."

And why don't LBJ's puppets in south Vietnam want that done? Mr. Martin has attempted to put a smokescreen of contradictory doubletalk over the whole dirty situation.

In his reply to a question from NDP leader Douglas, Martin claimed, "The government of South Vietnam was not reluctant to agree to this project." Nonetheless he told Stewart, "It may be they don't want this."

And why don't they want this? Stewart advances the idea that they have rejected this aid, offered by the Pearson administration, because of the possibility of pictures of the war-maimed children getting to the mass media, arousing indignation and opposition to the war. This hardly seems a likely explanation, in view of the fact that such pictures have already appeared in the North American and European press.

The answer more realistically lies in *who* these children are and *what* they are victimized by. They are victims of the hideous rain of destruction indiscriminately carried out by U.S. forces on peasant villages in the *south*, victims of napalm and fragmentation terror-bombing. Most of them come from villages destroyed in the genocidal campaign to exterminate the National Liberation Front forces — the "Viet Cong" — "the enemy." They are "Viet Cong" children, "enemy" children.

It is entirely within the logic of the nature of LBJ's counter-revolutionary war against the people of Vietnam that his stooges in Saigon *are quite prepared to let these children die, that they don't give a damn about them. By covering up for Ky —whose hero, Adolph Hitler, had no scruples about the mass murder of children either—the Pearson regime demonstrates the hypocrisy of its "concern" about the murderous war in Vietnam.*

Enemy Children

What other explanation is there? Saigon accepted other Canadian aid —the training of "riot" police, hospitals, vaccines, etc. Why refuse this aid? No, the Saigon puppets know very well that what they're involved in is a *civil war*, that the vast majority of the Vietnamese people, north *and* south, are against them and that their only hope lies in campaigns of wholesale slaughter and terrorization. *They're* not going to take trouble to save the children of the "enemy".

As for Pearson's government which, of course, supports U.S. objectives in the war in Vietnam all down the line, they're not prepared to press the matter. On the contrary, they cover up this scandal.

Shocking as it may appear, this callous action is entirely consistent with Canada's role in respect to the war in Vietnam. "Our" big business government will stoop to any depths to support the U.S. aggression — whitewashing the U.S. atrocities on the ICC, giving political support to LBJ's vicious war and making a handsome profit out of the whole bloody business by selling arms to the U.S.—and now this.

If it does nothing else, this disclosure will at least give the definitive lie to those apologists for Canadian big business who claim that the Pearson-Martin gang have any interest whatsoever in ending Washington's genocidal war.

VANCOUVER CLC COUNCIL SUPPORTS MASS PROTEST

Labor Decries War

VANCOUVER — Preparations for the April 15th protest against the war in Vietnam here have involved new organizations, and new sections of society to a greater extent than any previous anti-war effort.

Most significant is the deepening opposition to the war within the trade union movement. The Vancouver and District Labor Council has endorsed the demonstration and urged its affiliates to participate. Some local unions will be carrying their own banners on the march. The committee of trade unionists organized around the seminar on Vietnam with Sidney Lens (held March 19) has called a meeting of all interested trade unionists to build trade union involvement in the April 15th protest.

A similar meeting for high school students to discuss high school action on April 15 has been called. The regional conference of university anti-war committees held here on March 11 and 12 endorsed the April 15 action. The provincial council of the BC Young New Democrats voted to support the march.

The demonstration is organized by two committees—the April 15 Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The April 15 Committee was initiated by the Peace Action League (consisting of the Voice of Women, B.C. Peace Council, Womens International League for Peace and Freedom, Society of Friends, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) and consists of PAL and the Ad Hoc Committee of Youth for Peace in Vietnam. The Spring Mobilization Committee was initiated by the Vancouver Vietnam Day Committee when the PAL refused to seat a representative of the student anti-war committees on the April 15 committee and refused to consider seating representatives of other groups. The Spring Mobilization Committee now consists of informal representatives from some twenty organizations. It has a policy of non-exclusion of organizations and slogans for the April 15 demonstration.

The division has been largely overcome and the demonstration will be united. The Spring Mobilization Committee is rallying at City Hall with a talk by Professor Willmott of UBC and folksinging. As they march towards the city center, they will link up with other demonstrators at the Granville St. Bridge (the April 15th Committee's assembly point) and march together to the Court House. At the Court House the demonstrators will be addressed by T. C. Douglas of the New Democratic Party, Rev. Dixon of the United Church, and Dr. Gustavo Tolentino. Toronto psychiatrist recently returned from Vietnam where he was investigating for the International War Crimes Tribunal. The rally will be chaired by Jack Moore, president of Region 1 of the I.W.A.

The united front which has been built around preparations for April 15 will provide the basis for further growth of the anti-war movement in Vancouver. The establishment of the principle of non-exclusion of organizations and slogans opens the door to new groups, not yet involved in the struggle against the war in Vietnam.

T. C. Douglas

Pearson Heckled for Complicity in Vietnam

"Pearson, Martin, LBJ — How many kids did you kill today?" roared 100 placard-waving demonstrators as Prime Minister Pearson and his wife entered the Hotel Vancouver to attend a B.C. Liberal party fund-raising dinner.

Obviously rattled by the demonstrators who followed him around on his three day trip to Vancouver (March 30 - April 1), Pearson advised them to "ask in Washington" about ending the war in Vietnam. A leaflet distributed by the Vancouver Vietnam Day Committee drew the logic of Canadians asking "in Washington" for an end to the war. It stated in part "Are you saying to us, Mr. Pearson that we must see Washington about Canadian complicity; that it is the State Department and not you who controls Canadian foreign policy? But even then, we must address our protests to you. We must say: End subservience to Washington's foreign policy; speak out against the war in Vietnam; stop Canadian arms shipments to the U.S."

Stung by the slogans demanding an end to Canadian complicity, Pearson conceded at a press conference that some Canadian arms and equipment sold to the U.S. could find their way to Vietnam. "I'm not denying that" he said, "but it would be a small percentage". He did not elaborate on how much a "small percentage" amounts to.

After the demonstration in front of the Hotel Vancouver the anti-war activists wound their way downtown before crowds of Friday night shoppers. They ended at the Public Library, in order to hold a short meeting.

The bulk of the demonstrators were supporters of the Vancouver Vietnam Day Committee or the Ad-Hoc Committee of Youth for Peace in Vietnam. The action was seen as a builder for the April 15th demonstration and rally. CBC TV and the daily *Province* gave wide publicity to the demonstrations.

THE WORKERS VANGUARD
1 Cumberland Street, Toronto 5, Ontario

Aussie Crews Strike Vietnam War Supplies

(from World Outlook)

SYDNEY — Stop-work meetings of seamen in major ports throughout Australia in March showed that Australian seamen are overwhelmingly solid with the crews of the *Boonaroo* and the *Jeparit*, who refused to carry bombs and other war supplies for use by Australian forces in Vietnam. As a result of the crews' action, the two ships have been taken to Vietnam with crews supplied by the Royal Australian Navy.

Messages of congratulation have come from ships at sea and ports in New Guinea, Fiji and New Zealand. Seamen in Wellington said: "We warmly congratulate our Australian brothers on their dignified and principled stand." The Vietnamese National Front for Liberation has also sent a message of solidarity and thanks to the seamen.

At the meetings around the coast, involving hundreds of seamen, only eleven men in all voted against the union's stand. But this overwhelming solidarity contrasts quite starkly with the actions of Albert Monk and other leaders of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, and the stand taken on Vietnam by Edward Gough Whitlam, QC, the newly elected leader of the Labor party. Despite the fact that the seamen's stand was in line with the ACTU's policy against the war, the ACTU leadership openly supported the government in the *Boonaroo* and *Jeparit* disputes. When ACTU President Monk's efforts to get the ships sailing with civilian crews had failed, the government commissioned the ships and put navy crews aboard. Meanwhile, in the Labor party, Whitlam has moved to reverse the policy of opposition to the war. His new policy is: it was wrong to send troops to Vietnam, but now that they are there we can't withdraw them. In addition, he stands for a greater share for Australian business in defence contracts.

Victorian secretary of the Seamen's Union, Bert Nolan, told the Communist paper *Tribune*: "The whole affair was an obvious attempt by the Federal Government to 'set the Union up.' Why couldn't they have used the naval supply vessel Sydney, which has been running to Vietnam ever since Australia became involved there? Sydney is lying idle in Sydney Harbour at this moment." That this was a deliberate government provocation of the Seamen's Union, designed to provide an excuse for the government to make an open attempt to smash the union, is quite consistent with the way the government feels and behaves on the Vietnam issue. With its whole foreign policy designed to keep the Americans in Asia; so that it is categorically opposed to negotiations—even Johnson's policy on negotiations—as well as American bombing pauses, it would be reasonable to suppose that the government wants to tighten things up at home.

WORKERS
Vanguard

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Take Vietnam To Expo 67 On July 1st

Take Vietnam to Expo! That is the appeal that is being directed to the people of Canada by the Toronto Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the Student Association to End the War in Vietnam. Anti-war groups across the country are taking up the call.

There is no Vietnam pavilion at the Montreal World's Fair. Expo's theme — Man and His World — portrayed by exhibits that dramatize man's achievements and the challenges confronting him, finds no expression on the greatest challenge before mankind today — the U.S. genocidal war of aggression against the people of Vietnam, which threatens to engulf the world in a nuclear holocaust.

The anti-war movement intends to rectify this by mobilizing the largest possible forces in Montreal on July 1st. It is appropriate that such an action should take place then, for on that day Expo will be the site of the most elaborate of all of Canada's centennial celebrations. Leading government figures, surrounded by New Zealand, Australian, South Korean, American and other dignitaries, will be there expounding on the beauties of this country and the achievements, hopes and aspirations of its people.

A massive assembly should inform them and the entire world that the Canadian people are opposed to their cynical connivance with the U.S. government, their criminal complicity in a war that would deny the people of Vietnam the elementary right of self-determination, with the most fiendish instruments of death and destruction.

Plans are well underway. Le Voix de Québec sur le Vietnam is preparing to play host to the demonstration and link it up with the Québec independentist movement. Buses have been reserved, stickers and buttons printed and the formal call has been released. There are reports that a railway coachload is heading out from Vancouver and it is possible, since the NDP convention is taking place in Toronto only days later, that it will become an anti-war Special.

WORKERS Vanguard

Opposition to Vietnam War Impresses

CANADIANS AT GIANT US MARCH

by Peter Caufield

A contingent of some 200 Canadians marched with half a million Americans in New York on April 15. The New York and San Francisco demonstrations against Washington's aggression against the Vietnamese people, the largest in U.S. history, were organized by the Spring Mobilization Committee.

Three buses from Toronto, one from Sarnia, and several cars from Montreal, joined the thousands that poured into New York from all along the east coast.

The Toronto Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam staged a "send-off" for the Toronto demonstrators in the plaza of the new City Hall. Although rain kept the numbers down, 300 listened to speeches by representatives of the TCC, the Student Association to End the War in Vietnam and the Voice of Women.

Joe Young, chairman of SAEWV, emphasized that Canadians must link up with the U.S. anti-war movement and the world-wide movement. Placards at the send-off reflected this attitude by demanding American withdrawal and an end to Canadian complicity. Young outlined the plans for a demonstration at Expo on July 1, declaring, "We must bring Vietnam to Expo."

When the Toronto buses arrived in crowded Central Park, the Canadians were welcomed by American demonstrators with questions on how to escape the draft and about Canadian citizenship. However, the slogan, "End Canadian Complicity", which was carried by many of the

The Canadian contingent marching behind the Voix du Quebec banner, caught up in the massive April 15 New York protest against the war.

Toronto contingent, brought the majority of questions.

The involvement of powerful forces, many for the first time, made the New York demonstration a turning point in the anti-war movement. The minorities, especially a large Negro contingent, were the most militant. Both wings of the civil rights movement were represented, King speaking for the "moderates" and Stokely Carmichael for the advocates of Black Power. Carmichael called for immediate withdrawal, a slogan very widely carried in the demonstration, and no more black forces for the war.

Large numbers of unionists also marched. The inflation, anti-strike legislation and the demand for "loyalty" by the American government have all had the effect of creating opposition to the war among workers.

American draftees were also in the march and many watched from the sidewalks with obvious interest. The *Militant*, widely circulated at the march, carried a front-page article on the impending court-martial of Pfc. Howard Petrick for carrying his socialist and anti-war views into the Army. On Sunday, the *New York Times* reported that the charges had been dropped.

This development of the U.S. anti-war movement has increased the numbers and effectiveness of the opposition to the war. The Washington demonstration was one of the high points and New York another in matching the Pentagon's continuing escalation with counter-escalation on the part of Americans opposed to LBJ's war.

Que. Labor Boosts July 1 Mobilization Against Viet War

FLASH — A massive mobilization of Québec anti-war forces is shaping up. Both labor federations have now endorsed the July 1st call—the Canadian Labour Congress affiliates, the Fédération de Travail du Québec (QFD) and the independent Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux (CNTU). The entire Montréal region of the independentist Rassemblement pour l'Indépendence Nationale, and the influential journal of the Dominican Order, MAINTENANT, are both behind the demonstration. So too are the Quebec New Democratic Party Youth and two prominent former NDP candidates, Geoffrey Adams and Laurier Lapierre.

The July 1st rally in Montréal promises to be the most powerful Canadian action yet held in opposition to the war in Vietnam.

The call to "Take Vietnam to Expo" has met an impressive response across the whole of Canada. The call, printed by the Toronto Coordinating Committee to End the War, points out the hypocrisy of Expo 67, which maintains complete silence on the most crucial aspect of "Man and His World" today — the genocidal war of aggression waged by the U.S. government against the Vietnamese people.

It calls on Canadians from all parts of the country to rally in Montréal July 1st, where centennial celebrations will be reaching their peak, to firmly establish the real facts of Canadian complicity in the war, and demand self-determination for the Vietnamese, and an immediate end to the war.

Among the dozens of sponsors of the action listed on the call are Rabbi Abraham Feinberg, prominent Quebec NDPer Laurier Lapierre, War Crimes Tribunal investigator Dr. Gustavo Tolentino, writer June Callwood, Joe Young (chairman of the Students Association to End the War) Reverends John Morgan and James Endicott, and a list of eminent academics headed by C. B. MacPherson and Northrup Frye of the University of Toronto and T. B. Bottomore of Simon Fraser University.

A broadly based mobilization committee for the action has been estblished in Montreal. It includes prominent Québec trade unionists, and leading members of the Montréal faculty anti-war committee. It has established close collaboration with the independentist RIN through a number of RIN riding associations. It also includes the student committees at the Université de Montréal and two other campuses, and the community based Voix du Québec sur le Vietnam.

The Toronto Coordinating Committee has organized a massive mobilization of anti-war forces in that city. Eighty thousand copies of the call are being distributed, along with six thousand posters. Weekly speakouts on the Vietnam war are held in City Hall Square, where the excellent response has raised confidence that seats on Toronto's 14 buses will be sold out by July 1st.

Two buses have been chartered from Ottawa; a busload is being organized from London, and participation is expected from several other points in Ontario.

Yet surely the most impressive response is that from Vancouver anti-war activists, who have organized a train to Expo! Thirty tickets have already been sold for the grueling 3,000 mile trip to Montréal, and the Expo train will be picking up others at various points across the Prairies.

Participants will gather at 2:00 p.m., July 1st, in Dominion Square, Montréal, where there will be a dramatic presentation by the Montréal "Living Theatre", and other performances. They will then march to a rally in Lafontaine Park, traditional site of July 1st demonstrations.

Among French and English, students and working people, from Vancouver across the country, the mobilization is underway. All out for July 1st.

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WORKERS Vanguard

#132 - Mid-Aug. 1967

TORONTO ANTI-WAR GROUP JOINS

Big Fall Protest

TORONTO — The Toronto Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam has called a conference to meet here on September 9. The purpose of the conference is to organize support behind the call issued by the U.S. National Mobilization Committee for world-wide demonstrations behind the massive mobilization of the American people that will take place in Washington on October 21.

The NMC was instrumental in mobilizing the half a million Americans who demonstrated against the Johnson administration's war on the Vietnamese freedom struggle last April 15 in New York and San Francisco. Washington has been chosen because it is the seat of government and the site of the Pentagon. The central demand of the Washington demonstrators will be "Bring the Troops Home Now" and "End the Draft".

The Toronto Committee, which is representative of all the major anti-war forces in the Toronto area, has become one of the most effective centralizing forces of the Canada-wide anti-war movement. It has long popularized the demand for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and an end of Ottawa's complicity in this war designed to block a people's right of self determination.

The conference will feature a speaker from the U.S. anti-war movement, possibly from the Fifth Avenue Committee which is conducting a highly successful campaign to establish the right of the people to vote on the question of the war. It will be held at the Carpenters' Hall on Gerrard Street.

WORKERS Vanguard

#133 Sept. 1967

Americans will be marching on Washington as thousands of them marched on New York & Frisco on April 15. Canadians in all the major cities, people across the globe, will be responding to their appeal for an

Issued by The Student Association to End the War in Vietnam, Box 931, Terminal A, Toronto

POSTER of the Student Association to End the War in Vietnam announces the next massive International Day of Protest, to be held October 21. Plans are already well underway, with preparatory conferences scheduled for September 9 in Toronto and Edmonton. Anti-war committees in these and other cities across Canada will be joining demonstrators throughout the world in solidarity with the American march on Washington, D.C.

INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL in session in Stockholm, Sweden. After hearing evidence from many sources, the Tribunal declared the U.S. guilty on two of the five questions which form the basis for its investigations of U.S. actions in Vietnam.

War Crimes Tribunal Continues its Inquiry

By P. Kent

The International War Crimes Tribunal has announced that a team of eminently qualified specialists is leaving for Vietnam to carry forward its investigations of the character of the United States' war in Vietnam.

The Tribunal, initiated by the eminent British philosopher Bertrand Russell, is composed of a number of internationally distinguished intellectuals including among others Jean-Paul Sartre, Vladimir Dedijer, Lelio Basso, Stokely Carmichael and Lazaro Cardenas. Committees have sprung up across the world, including Canada, in support of its aims.

The first stage of the Tribunal's deliberations were completed early last May in Stockholm. After 9 days of hearing extensive testimony by investigating teams, jurists and Vietnamese victims of the war, the body of distinguished intellectuals found the United States guilty of the crimes of aggression and "widespread, deliberate and systematic" bombardment of civilian targets in Vietnam.

Australia, New Zealand and South Korea were found guilty of complicity in the war crimes, defined as "crimes against peace and crimes against humanity." Specific violations of international law were cited under the Kellog-Briand Pact of 1928, the United Nations Charter, the Nuremberg declarations and the Geneva accords of 1954.

The Stockholm deliberations dealt with the first two of five questions that the Tribunal sought answers for. The new investigations now underway are designed to obtain information of every kind to answer the following questions;

1) Has there been bombardment of targets of a purely civilian character, for example: hospitals, schools, sanatoria, dams, etc., and on what scale has this occurred?

2) Have Vietnamese prisoners been subjected to inhuman treatment forbidden by the laws of war and, in particular, to torture or mutilation? Have there been unjustified reprisals against the civilian population, in particular execution of hostages?

3) Have forced labor camps been created, has there been deportation of the population or other acts tending to the extermination of the population and which can be characterized juridically as acts of genocide?

The Canadian Committee has recently announced that it has obtained a first rate film by the eminent French film director Roger Pic, *Malgré l'Escalade* (Despite the Escalation), that is available for rental to campus and community groups for a small charge. Copies of Bertrand Russell's closing statement and Jean-Paul Sartre's opening address to the Stockholm sessions, and supplementary materials, are available from the Canadian Committee for the International War Crimes Tribunal, 758 Yonge Street, Room 6, Toronto.

SHOULD ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

Aid Draft Dodgers?

By Gary Porter

Several anti-war organizations have recently turned their attention toward the increasing numbers of young Americans who are coming to Canada to avoid the draft. The strong likelihood that more draft evaders will continue to cross the border, and the liberal and humanistic appeal of draft resister assistance, suggest that certain sectors of the Canadian anti-war movement will be tempted to take up this work. Thus, aid to draft resisters becomes a significant question for anti-war activists, and one which should be discussed and understood within the movement.

Of course, imperialist conscription must be opposed, and the civil rights of those who oppose it on an individual plane, defended, both here and in the United States. But the first task of the anti-war movement is to end the war. Any action or project placed before the movement must be judged in this light. How effective, then, is draft resister assistance in stopping the war?

Although a substantial number of American youth have come to Canada to avoid the draft, it is obvious that the vast majority of those who are eligible, accept the draft and go into the army. In fact, there is yet no mass movement in the U.S. against the draft. Instead, such resistance remains confined to a relatively small number of individuals, who for various personal reasons have refused to enlist in the American army. The vast majority of those who leave the country are not opposed to the American war system, nor do they become active in the Canadian movement against the war when they arrive. They do not look upon themselves as part of any movement. They come here solely to save themselves from the horror of war, *without a thought for the hundreds of thousands they leave behind in the U.S. Army*. By fleeing to Canada, those who are conscious opponents of the war effectively cut themselves off from the biggest, most effective force against the war — the American anti-war movement.

Do Canadian anti-war activists help build the movement by assisting these people, getting jobs and lodging for them, etc? Our task is to end Canadian complicity in the war, and to build support in Canada for the demand of the U.S. movement to Bring the Troops Home Now. To reach these objectives, we must build a mass movement, a movement which the government in Ottawa cannot ignore, a movement whose demands must be carried out. We must devise actions which explain our opposition to U.S. aggression in Vietnam to the millions of workers and students in this country. If, instead, we divert the anti-war movement into a welfare agency for a small number of people from the U.S., we undermine the movement's capacity to win its demands.

An American View

Significantly, a majority in the American movement against the war is opposed to making draft-dodging a major part of its campaign. Their views were explained in a recent article by Harry Ring in the U.S. socialist weekly, *The Militant*. Ring points out, in part: "The choice must be made on the basis of whether the individual is simply concerned with the purity of his own conscience or with taking effective action to help end the war.

Pfc. Howard Petrick (U.S. Army) opposes the Vietnam war.

"An opponent of the war who spends five years in the isolation of a prison cell or escaping to Canada can contribute little to organizing a movement against the war."

This choice between purity of conscience and effective opposition to the war must be kept in mind by anti-war militants here with respect to the Canadian movement. Using all or even part of the not-very-bountiful resources of the movement to aid a few individuals while millions of Canadians remain to be convinced to join the fight to end the war may ease a few conscience pangs, but in reality it is a harmful diversion of the movement, and defeats its main purpose.

To those young Americans who have violated the draft regulations and who face a five-year prison term if they return to the U.S., we must extend the same invitation to join the anti-war movement as we do to everyone who lives in Canada. We must also defend their right to live in Canada without official harrassment, where such cases arise. But it is not up to us to play the role of welcoming host, nor should we squander our time and resources in assisting youth still in the U.S. to come to Canada.

A Conscript Army

To hold that the anti-war movement should not undertake the job of building an underground railway, does not imply that American youth should callously be abandoned to the machinations of the U.S. military colossus. On the contrary, by staying in the U.S., they can help to weaken that very war machine. Many Americans (and Canadians, too) hold the view that the American army is a homogeneous block of reaction. However, in the article cited above, Harry Ring writes:

"Some people assume that entering the army means you must give up your constitutional right of free speech and can no longer express your political beliefs. This is not the case.

"Admittedly, army life is not conducive to the free expression of ideas, even though there is no law against such expression, and there are, in fact, constitutional provisions protecting the rights of a citizen in the armed forces."

Mass conscript armies, composed of average working class youth, are generally reflective of the opinions and moods of the population as a whole. Soldiers write and call home. They go on leave, read newspapers, and see on television the horror of the war. These average young men are faced with the prospect of laying their lives on the line in a country thousands of miles away for a cause which increasing numbers of them are coming to doubt. Placed in this difficult situation, they do not respond favorably to white middle-class college students refusing to share their fate.

They do respond, however, to mass movements saying "Save Our Boys, Bring Them Home NOW", and they do respond to soldiers who opt to share the problems of their generation — who join the army when drafted, then speak out against the war to their fellow soldiers. That is what Pfc. Howard Petrick is proving at Fort Hood in Texas.

The socialist position, then, is simply this. American youth should stay in America to work inside or outside the military to build a mass movement to end the war. Canadians, too, should work, not to give

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a bit of aid to a few individuals, but to win the support of millions to the anti-war movement. It is in that way that we will end Canadian complicity and help the Americans to Bring the Troops Home Now.

Basic Reading on

VIETNAM

Immediate Withdrawal vs. Negotiations — C. Jenness ..... .15
GI's and the Fight Against War — M. A. Waters ..... .25
Free Speech for GI's — Case of Pfc. Petrick .... .15
War and Revolution in Vietnam — Doug Jenness ..... .15
On Vietnam and World Revolution — Che Guevara ..... .20
Vietnam, the Logic of Withdrawal — Howard Zinn 1.65
War Crimes in Vietnam — Bertrand Russell 1.00
Vietnam, Vietnam — Felix Greene 3.25

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Anti-War GI Takes Views Into Army

Pfc. Howard Petrick, a 21-year-old soldier stationed at Fort Hood, Texas, is fighting against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam *inside* the U.S. Army.

Petrick, a member of the Minnesota Committee to End the War in Vietnam before he was inducted, has carried his views into the army and spoken about them with his fellow soldiers. In this, he is simply implementing his rights under the American Constitution.

He has circulated literature against the war, and reports in correspondence with members of the Young Socialist Alliance in Minnesota, that "over 90% of the guys said we shouldn't be over there and we should get the hell out."

On April 1, after returning from a leave, Petrick was called before military intelligence and requested to answer a list of 70 questions. He refused, and found out later that his locker had been searched and his literature seized. Some of his friends had been questioned by the authorities. Although for a while Petrick suffered harrassment, such as cancellation of leave and no pay, all his rights have been restored.

The case is now before the Pentagon brass, and they seem to be handling it with kid gloves. This may well be because Petrick found so much support among the GI's and the U.S. anti-war movement. A Defence Committee has been established. It reports it is receiving a continuous flow of mail from people offering to act as sponsors, and submitting contributions. Many GI's have shown interest in the case. Petrick continues to put forward his views among the GI's.

Howie Petrick's case stands as an example to young Americans facing the draft, but opposed to the war. Contrary to the belief held by some that the U.S. Army is a concentration camp run by Nazi-minded thugs, Petrick has shown that this mass conscript army of average American youth can be penetrated by anti-war militants. Moreover, the Army is the key sector of American society which the anti-war movement must win over. If the GI's can be convinced that they have nothing to gain by fighting against a people who are struggling for land and freedom, the U.S. government will not for long be able to continue the war.

In the United States, the task of mobilizing a mass movement against the war necessitates utilizing every possible step to reach the army. Although a few are resisting the draft, they do so as individuals. While most of their generation are unhappy about the draft, they are joining the army when their number comes up. Anti-war militants must talk to this generation *where they are*. Thus for draftees, the best way to fight the war is to enter the army and spread their views among the GI's.

Petrick has already shown that the GI's are ready to listen. As for the military, they will be very cautious about trampling on the rights of citizen soldiers who are backed up by the massive and growing anti-war movement right there at home.

WORKERS Vanguard

October 2, 1967 #134

Oct. 21 Protest

Support for the October 21-22 International Days of Protest against the Vietnam war is snowballing around the world.

In the United States, the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, organizers of the giant April 15th Mobilization of 500,000 people in New York and San Francisco, has scheduled a massive anti-war "Confrontation" in Washington for October 21st. The Student Mobilization Committee, one of the chief builders of the demonstration, reports a significantly greater response both nationally and internationally to the call for the October 21 action than has been seen in any previous demonstration. Organizations in 45 states are working to build support for the Confrontation.

After initial hesitation in some quarters, Canadian anti-war activists are now forging full-steam ahead on plans for October 21st. Following are summarized area reports from across the country.

TORONTO (by D. Fry) — Thirty-seven anti-war organizations and political groups, in an all-day meeting here September 9, set up an October 21st Mobilization committee with a full-time headquarters. Ken Warren, an editor of the *Canada/Vietnam Newsletter*, has been hired to coordinate activities and man the headquarters, which are located at 20 College St. (Telephone: 929-5563).

The 75 participants in the conference, from Toronto, London, Sarnia, Hamilton, Ottawa and the Niagara Peninsula, decided to hold one central demonstration, in Toronto, as the focus of the weekend activities. After a vigorous debate, it was decided to hold a parade from the Legislature at Queen's Park down Yonge Street to Liberal Party headquarters, to emphasize the Liberal Government's complicity in the war. It is hoped to have floats, mime groups and other spontan-

(See page 4)

VIETNAM DEMONSTRATORS. 2,000 Canadians marched in Montreal on July 1st against Canadian complicity in the war, and for self-determination for the Vietnamese people. March drew impressive support from Québec separatists who linked Vietnam struggle with French-Canadian call for a "Free Québec". Increased trade union support behind October 21 protest should see biggest anti-war mobilization yet across Canada.

Growing Support for Oct. 21 Mobilization

(continued from page 1)

eous manifestations expressing in novel ways the themes of the mobilization.

The main slogans chosen were Withdraw U.S. Troops Now; End Canadian Complicity; Stop the Bombing; Self-Determination for Vietnam; Stop the War Now. These were all unanimously adopted, as was a recommendation of Phyllis Clarke, representing the Communist Party, that the demonstration be non-exclusive, inviting the participation of all organizations and individuals, and welcoming all slogans.

* * * *

VANCOUVER (by Allan Engler) — The October Vietnam protest here will be the most united and broadly-based anti-war action since the start of the war. Thirty-one delegates from trade union locals, the B.C. Federation of Labour, political parties and organizations, churches and all the anti-war groups met on September 12, and agreed to have a march on the 21st from the City Hall to the Court House. As well, a conference is planned for October 22, to discuss Canada's role in the war and the tasks of the Canadian anti-war movement. It is hoped that this conference will provide the basis for the building of a broad continuing committee.

Although slogans for the march have not yet been determined, the demonstration is certain to be non-exclusive as to placards, literature and organizational participation. The march committee is proposing that each group carry its own banners for identification.

The committee has also proposed the preparation of five different leaflets, to appeal to trade unionists, campus, high school students, and churches, with a general leaflet for downtown distribution. Delegates are also attempting to get speakers to union meetings before October 21, and to build a "Vietnam Sunday" on October 15 when ministers would be asked to give anti-war sermons.

The Vancouver Labour Council has voted to send an executive member to the September 26 delegated meeting, where plans will be finalized.

* * * *

MONTREAL (by Art Young) — Despite the transit strike now paralyzing this city, more than 150 people managed to attend on September 23 one of the most important meetings against the Vietnam war to be held in this city in more than a year. The meeting heard speakers from a wide variety of groups, ranging from the separatist Rassemblement pour L'Indépendance Nationale (RIN) to the left Dominican priests' magazine, *Maintenant*. Sponsor of the meeting was the independent membership committee, the Voix du Québec sur le Vietnam (Voice of Québec on Vietnam).

Among the orators was Pierre Saucier, a director of *Maintenant*. Recalling that in the 1965 elections only the NDP spoke out against the war, he forcefully challenged the Québec MP's: "How can they even claim to represent the people of Québec when they say nothing about the genocide in Vietnam? Let (federal Immigration minister) Jean Marchand prove to us that he is not a lackey of Ottawa, by denouncing this American war!"

Representatives of the 70,000-member UGEQ, the Québec student union, and the 200,000-member Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), demanded that the Québec legislature take up the war question. The UGEQ spokesman pointed out that the students had agreed to participate in the world student actions called by the International Union of Students in mid-November. A province-wide student strike and demonstrations are scheduled. UGEQ has invited a delegation of students from the National Liberation Front of south Vietnam to undertake a speaking tour of Québec.

Pamphile Piché, speaking in the name of the CSN, emphasized the importance of political issues like Vietnam to the labor movement. He informed the audience that the CSN has called on all other unions in the province — the Québec Federation of Labour (FTQ), UGEQ, and the UCC (farmers' union) — to participate with it in a demonstration against the war on Remembrance Day, November 11.

The large attendance at the meeting, as well as the militant spirit displayed by the speakers and echoed by the audience, bode well for the demonstration of October 21, and beyond.

* * * *

EDMONTON (by C. Scarlett) — Forty people representing 10 organizations, including trade unions, students, professors, ministers, women, and political groups, met here September 9 in a conference sponsored by the U. of Alberta Vietnam Action Committee, the Edmonton CEWV, and the Alberta New Democratic Youth. It was decided to hold a demonstration October 21st, a pageant-like march, to include placards with details of the war and Canadian support for it, so the parade will be an educational one for observers. The march will end in a rally to which Laurier Lapierre has been invited. Coordinator of the Edmonton October 21 Mobilization Committee is John Lejderman, assisted by Doug Tomlinson of the Beverage Dispensers' Union.

A subsequent meeting adopted these slogans for the march: End Canadian Support of the War Against Vietnam; Support the International Days of Protest; Self-determination for Vietnam, Withdraw U.S. Troops Now; Escalation Leads to Annihilation.

A public meeting on October 6 will hear Dr. Gustavo Tolentino speak on his tour of north Vietnam, and will possibly feature also the film "The Threatening Sky".

WORKERS Vanguard

Alliances Tie Canada To New Missile Grid

by Dick Fidler

As United States escalation of its war against Vietnam daily increases the danger of war with China and a world-wide nuclear holocaust, the American decision to begin construction this year of a "limited" $5-billion anti-ballistic missile system has revived criticism of Canadian participation in NORAD and NATO.

Although U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara attempts to pass off this "light ABM system" as a relatively small addition to the American military machine's gargantuan nuclear arsenal, for use mainly against a prospective Chinese missile deterrent in the '70's, reporters in the capitalist press are hinting strongly that it marks the first stage in the introduction of a "heavy" ABM system to cost $40-billion — about half the annual military budget of the United States, and more than the Vietnam war costs that country in one year!

Whatever the case, the U.S. decision has important implications for Canada. As Bruce Macdonald reports in the *Globe and Mail* of September 20, "Pentagon officers would like to see one of the associated radar sites located in Canada north of the Great Lakes and protected with short-range Sprint missiles." Moreover, according to Montreal's *La Presse* of the same date, "Ottawa sources have declared the United States would like to sell anti-missile defence equipment to Canada."

NORAD

How does this involve NORAD? *La Presse* comments: "It is not excluded that the NORAD agreement, which is due to expire next May, will be altered so as to cover both aerial and stratospheric defence."

This supposition is borne out by other press reports. The *Globe and Mail* indicates that in the forthcoming talks on the renewal of the NORAD agreement, "It is understood that Canada will seek to have conditions governing the duration of the treaty modified." Apparently, the Toronto paper says, the government is seeking an "indefinite prolongation" of the pact.

Government officials in both countries are attempting to skirt the question of Canada's role in the new missile network. But no one has denied the possibility of Canadian involvement. External Affairs minister Paul Martin has gone no further than a statement in Toronto on August 26, that a renewed NORAD agreement would not in itself "imply a commitment by Canada" to participate in the missile system. Significantly, one week before McNamara's announcement, Canadian Defence minister Paul Hellyer flew to Washington to confer with Pentagon officials including McNamara on American missile strategy. Despite government denials, it is hard to believe that Canada's role was not discussed. And while even the rabidly pro-American British Labour government of Harold Wilson has criticized the American decision as "a danger to peace", and warned of the "dangerous consequences which will result", the Canadian government is maintaining an ominous silence.

Canadians have good reason to be apprehensive. The original NORAD agreement, negotiated by the Liberals, and signed by the new Tory government in 1957, was foisted on us as a non-nuclear "protection against a Soviet bomber attack" — although why the Soviet Union, confronted even then with a massive nuclear missile threat from the United States, would want to send planes against North America was never explained. Later, in 1963, it became clear that NORAD was to be the vehicle by which the Bomarc missiles and various Canadian aircraft were to be armed with anti-missile nuclear weapons. Although U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara admitted at the time that the Bomarc had no military value other than "to draw enemy fire in the event of war", Pearson promised in the 1963 election to observe Tory "commitments" and accept the arms, saying he would later "renegotiate" the NORAD agreement to get rid of the weapons. Part of that promise he kept — Canada still has nuclear arms — but "renegotiation" was never mentioned again. The detailed terms of the NORAD nuclear agreement have never been revealed to the public, not even to the Commons defence committee!

Complicity

NORAD's major significance, of course, is not military, but political. It is a concrete manifestation of the Canadian government's commitment to active participation in American foreign policy—a policy which threatens to annihilate human civilization if allowed to proceed unchecked in Vietnam.

Similar considerations apply to Canada's membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Here, too, Canada is likely to become implicated in the new American missile network. NATO Secretary-General Manlio Brosio has revealed that the establishment of an anti-missile missile system similar to that projected by the United States, and presumably a part of it, is "under consideration" by the alliance. But Martin recently reaffirmed the Liberal government's firm support of NATO, and attacked Tory national president Dalton Camp's suggestion that Canada consider withdrawal from the alliance as "the height of irresponsibility." Naturally, the Tories hold no brief for Camp's idea, either.

NDP Position

The renewed debate over Canada's military-diplomatic alliances, has prompted NDP leader T. C. Douglas, in a speech at BC's Simon Fraser University on September 14, to demand the government "negotiate Canada out of NORAD", and "ask for an overhaul of NATO." NATO, said Douglas, "should be used to negotiate peace, not war."

Break from NORAD, yes. But Douglas doesn't explain how *NATO* can be "overhauled" to become an instrument of "peace". And indeed he can't. As the new anti-missile missile schemes show once more, the time is long overdue for the NDP to drop its cowardly and hypocritical equivocation about NATO. The NDP must mount a country-wide campaign to break Canada from all its military alliances. There is no other alternative to imperialism's headlong plunge toward war.

THE WORKERS VANGUARD

U.S. Socialists Announce 1968 Presidential Slate

by John Wilson

Whatever talk may be going the rounds about "peace" candidates and "third party" slates, the Socialist Workers Party has already guaranteed that American opponents of the barbaric war in Vietnam will have a clear-cut alternative in the November 1968 elections. The national committee of the SWP has declared it is running Fred Halstead for President and Paul Boutelle for Vice-President.

The nominations of Halstead, a major figure in the U.S. anti-war movement and a principal organizer of the mammoth April 15 New York demonstration against the war, and Boutelle, a militant black power leader from Harlem, underscore what socialists consider the main questions confronting the American electorate.

Vietnam

A central issue in the SWP campaign will be immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

Fred Halstead declares: "Johnson's continued escalation of the Vietnam war is bringing this country closer to the brink of a war with China and the possibility of a nuclear holocaust.

"The only way to end the war is to bring U.S. troops home immediately. That is what the American people want and that's what the troops want. As recent polls show, on this issue we speak for more Americans than the Republican or Democratic parties."

Tying in the issue of the struggle for black power against the racist oppression of the white capitalist power structure with opposition to the imperialist aggression in Vietnam, Paul Boutelle says:

FRED HALSTEAD. Socialist candidate for President of the United States.

"This lying government is telling its biggest lie when it tells black people that the oppressed peasants of Vietnam are their enemy. The truth of the matter, however, is that America is our battleground. The enemy of the black people is here at home in Washington, Wall Street, and in every state and local government in the country.

"The use of Federal troops, National Guardsmen, and police against the black community by politicians of both the Democratic and Republican parties demonstrates the bankruptcy of these parties to deal with the gigantic problems of unemployment and sub-standard living conditions. The use of repressive force against black people must be strongly condemned."

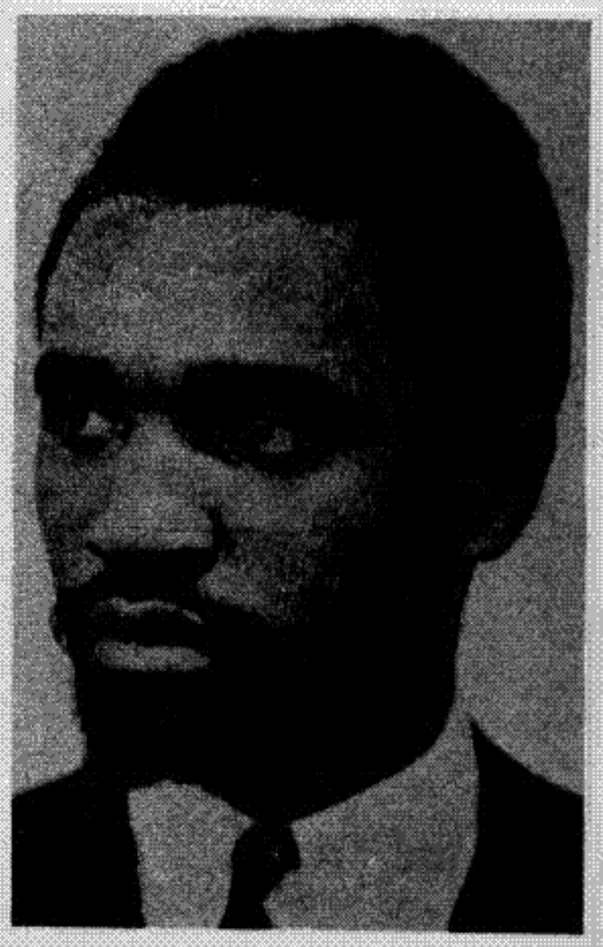
Boutelle blasted the persecution of H. Rap Brown, militant chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). "Whenever the ruling class cannot buy off black leaders, their policy is to frame them, exile them or assassinate them."

Halstead declared, "It is just as wrong to use troops against the black community here as it is to use troops to try to put down the Vietnamese revolution."

Boutelle will start off by making a tour of black campuses this fall in the deep South. Halstead will remain in New York to help organize the huge October 21st anti-war demonstration in Washington.

New Politics

The SWP campaign had considerable impact at the recent National Conference on New Politics held in Chicago. More than 750 people at it gave their names for further information and several prominent individuals gave their endorsement to the socialist ticket. There was good radio, TV and newspaper coverage. The conference itself narrowly defeated a proposition to put up a quasi-liberal Democratic Party-oriented "third ticket". Much of the opposition to this concept centered around black militants who refused to buy a ticket which in no way would have meant a meaningful opposition to the system they are in battle against.



PAUL BOUTELLE. Militant black leader is SWP vice-presidential candidate.

In Canada, the campaign has already received some attention in *Le Devoir*, *La Presse* and the *Montreal Star*. Paul Boutelle spoke there Sept. 15 to a meeting called by La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, publishers of *La Lutte Ouvrière*, Quebec counterpart of the *Vanguard* in English Canada.

Canadian socialists NDPers, unionists anti-war activists and radical students will hail the SWP campaign as their own and wish it every success. We can be confident that it will be a dynamic and significant contribution to the anti-war movement everywhere and a big step forward for the relatively small but growing forces of socialism in the U.S. itself.

Martin's UN Speech: What He Really Said

by Dick Fidler

External Affairs minister Paul Martin's United Nations speech calling on the United States to stop the bombing of North Vietnam prompted enthusiastic greetings from many quarters.

"Mr. Martin," commented the *Globe and Mail*, "has made it possible for Canadians to hope that their Government is evolving an honest and helpful approach to the conflict." New Democrat spokesman Andrew Brewin went further: "I should like to contgratulate the Secretary of State for External Affairs for his adoption of a policy this party has put forward before." Communist party leader William Kashtan chimed in: "We would hope this marks an end to Canada's policy of being quiet and heralds the beginning of an active and independent foreign policy for Canada." The CP's paper *Tribune* titled its statement: "Shift in Canada's policy". The Tory *Globe's* head was a little more modest: "At last an honest Canada." The NDP newspapers have so far said nothing. They are busy fighting elections.

What Martin Said

Actually, there is less to Martin's statement than meets the eye. Here is what he said:

"It seems clear that all attempts to bring about talks are doomed to failure unless the bombing is stopped. This is a matter of first priority if we are to start the process of de-escalation and to open the door to the conference room."

Subsequently he declared in Parliament; "The Canadian Government urged that there be a stop made in the bombing because at the present time it is of the view that this is the only way to test the willingness of North Vietnam to enter into negotiations and consultations with other countries in an effort to bring about accommodations."

American Position

But how does this statement differ from U.S. policy? Two days after Martin's UN speech, President Johnson himself told a San Antonio, Texas, audience:

"The heart of the matter is this: the United States is willing immediately to stop aerial and naval bombardment of North Vietnam when this will lead promptly to productive discussion. We would assume that while discussions proceed, North Vietnam would not take advantage of the bombing cessation or limitation."

Martin says if the United States stops bombing north Vietnam, negotiations between the Hanoi régime and the United States *might* ensue at the present time. Johnson says if the United States knew for a certainty that Hanoi *would* agree to negotiate, he would stop the bombing. Johnson points to the tenacious resistance of the courageous north Vietnamese as evidence that they have no intention of bargaining away their rights, and reaffirms his intention to continue the bombing until he can force Hanoi to "negotiate" its terms of defeat. Martin, for his part, wants to silence the critics of American policy (and the Canadian government's support of it) by halting the bombing for the time being, and putting the onus on Hanoi to negotiate. Needless to say, Martin says nothing about withdrawal or even reduction of American and allied troop deployments in Vietnam.

Negotiations

And if the Vietnamese refuse to negatiate? Well, then, says the Liberal government, the Americans would be justified in continuing their aggression. As Prime Minister Pearson put it in the house, "I should add that while the Secretary of State for External Affairs emphasized that the bombing should stop, he also pointed out that the

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THE WORKERS VANGUARD

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What Martin Said . . .

(continued from page 1)

stopping of the bombing, unless followed by other steps taken by the other side (Hanoi), would not in the circumstances bring about peace."

Martin has noted that his call for a bombing halt is presented within the context of the government's support for a "negotiated" solution of the war, "which will continue to be the Government's policy." He told parliament: "We consider that an end to the bombing must be regarded in the present circumstances as the key to the solution, or a starting point in the process of solving this regrettable situation in Vietnam."

Naturally a stop to the bombing of north Vietnam would be sincerely welcomed by all opposed to the war. But that is not the main purpose of Canada's policy.

The essence of that policy, which in no significant respect differs from American aims, is to force the Vietnamese — both NLF in the South, and Viet Minh in the North — to abandon their revolution and grant American imperialism and its interests at least a leading place in south-east Asia. Support for "negotiations" is perfectly consistent with support of American objectives. The demand for negotiations, by its very nature, has embedded in it the concept that the United States and its allies, the aggressors, have some moral or political "right" to be in Vietnam in the first place, something to "negotiate", some right to remain.

Bombing Tactic

Nor — let us remember — is a halt to the bombing of north Vietnam the primary objective of those who are really opposed to the war. Martin notwithstanding, the "key to the solution" is the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. The bombing of north Vietnam is not the most important aspect of American strategy. Defence Secretary McNamara admits that the bombing has accomplished very little in terms of American aims. For the Dr. Strangeloves in the Pentagon, the bombing of the North has its own rationale: it lends support to the American lie that the struggle in the South is not a civil war but simply the result of "infiltration" and "aggression" from the North; it is hoped to blackmail Hanoi into exerting influence on the NLF to abandon its struggle in the South; and, last but not least, the bombing lays the basis for a future extension of the ground war from the South to the North, and a possible invasion of China. By gradually escalating the bombing step by step, Johnson and McNamara hope to disarm public opinion back home and, not incidentally, test the reaction of the workers' states.

PAUL MARTIN
Master of the Enigmatic Phrase

But the main war — as McNamara told the Senate Armed Forces Subcommittee in August — is in the South.

What Martin and Pearson regard as "the regrettable situation" in Vietnam is not so much the wanton destruction and carnage caused by the Americans, as it is the unexpected ability of the Vietnamese to resist, the "danger" of Soviet intervention and increased aid to Vietnam, and, not least important, the domestic difficulties of the Johnson administration, faced with a powerful and growing anti-war movement at home. While Johnson recklessly continues to base his strategy on the unlikely possibility of military defeat and surrender of the Vietnamese, his friends in Canada are now maneuvering openly to save what they can for imperialism in south-east Asia; their object is to negotiate a beachhead in Vietnam so as to be in a position to continue the war later under more propitious circumstances. Herein lies the real significance of Martin's at-most-"tactical" differences with the United States.

Withdrawal

Anti-war activists can indeed welcome this oblique testimony to the capacity of the anti-war movement, both inside and outside of Vietnam, to upset the war-makers' applecart. But Martin's change of tack should only inspire us to step up our efforts to force the unilateral withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. There can be no other "solution".

World Opposition to Vietnam War

October 21 Protest

The 20,000-member Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport, and General Workers Union (CLC) voted at its general membership convention in Ottawa early this month to support the October 21 Mobilization. The CBRT's support is another indication that the October 21 Protest will be the largest and most successful anti-war demonstration so far in Canada against the Vietnam war and the criminal complicity of the Canadian government in it.

Areas which have not been known in the past for much anti-war activity are reporting inspiring signs of increased interest and participation.

The following reports on the anti-war scene in some other countries indicate that the scandalous passivity and failure of the majority of the Canadian trade union movement and the NDP to play a leading role in the anti-war movement, is not a universal phenomenon.

Japan

One of the most significant of the international protests in solidarity with the American movement's Mobilization in Washington, will be held in Japan on October 21. Chief organizers of the Japan action are SOHYO (the Japan General Council of Trade Unions), the Japan Socialist party and the Japan Youth Committee Against War. They estimate that a central meeting in Tokyo will bring out 300,000, and as many as three million people will demonstrate throughout the country.

October 21 marks the first anniversary of a nationwide general strike against the war in Vietnam called by SOHYO last year. It is also the date when Japan's Prime Minister Sato is expected to arrive in Saigon for a goodwill visit to the military clique of Thieu and Ky.

According to press reports, violent demonstrations of over 2,500 youths marked Sato's departure from Tokyo airport on October 8. One demonstrator was killed, and 160 injured. 339 cops were injured. Police used tear gas and fire hoses as demonstrators burned eight riot trucks.

SOHYO recently agreed with the north Vietnamese trade unions to form an organization to protest or block the transport of strategic materials for use in the Vietnam war. Japan is heavily involved in the war. In addition to the fast-growing U.S. bases employing thousands of workers, the Japanese war industry supplies over one billion dollars worth of goods to the Pentagon each year.

United States

The anti-war movement in the United States is winning significant support from student groups and trade unionists. In Detroit, the Wayne State University Student-Faculty Council (student government) has endorsed the October 21 Mobilization, as has the school newspaper. The New York University Student Government is renting ten buses for NYU students to go to Washington.

The Trade Union Division of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy has issued a call for a "National Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace" to be held in Chicago Nov. 11-12. The call is signed by leading executives of the Clothing Workers, Butcher Workers and the United Automobile Workers unions.

"The continuing escalation of the war in Vietnam has created a situation unique in American history," the call says. "There has never before been a time when the American people have been so openly skeptical of the methods, the purposes and the goals of their own government while actively engaged in war. . .

"We believe the moment is long past due for a thoroughgoing examination of the impact of American foreign policy on our lives today."

Meanwhile, a campaign by San Francisco anti-war forces registered a major victory when the state Supreme Court overruled a lower court and ordered an anti-Vietnam-war referendum to be placed on the ballot in civic elections next month. The referendum reads: "If the following issue appears on the ballot would you vote yes or no? — It is the policy of the people of the city and county of San Francisco that there be an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam so that the Vietnamese people can settle their own problems."

An independent poll by a private survey consultant indicates the likely result: Black voters polled responded 66.6 percent, yes; 10.4 percent, no; 22.9 percent undecided. White voters: 38.4 percent, yes; 30.6 percent, no; 21.8 percent, undecided; 9.1 percent refused to answer.

Australia

In Australia, Melbourne University students at a debate voted 500 to 40 in favor of the right of university Labour Clubs to collect money to aid the NLF of South Vietnam. A mass meeting of students at Monash University, also in Melbourne, voted 1,600 to 400 on the same issue. Both meetings voted for the withdrawal of Australian troops from Vietnam — a central point of debate in the Australian Labour party at the moment.

Norway

In Norway, the Committee of Solidarity with Vietnam is pressing forward with plans for October 21. Its forty-five local committees will have protests in all cities and larger towns. Many trade unions have come out in support of the actions. Main demand is that the Norwegian government — one of Canada's NATO allies — dissociate itself from the American aggression.

At its last congress, the Norwegian Labor party, the country's largest party, stated its solidarity with the National Liberation Front, and demanded U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam.

Contact us

to know what socialists are doing in your community.

IN MONTREAL
La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière,
66 rue Guilbault O.,
Montréal 18, Qué.

IN OTTAWA
Workers Vanguard,
Station D, Box 2165

IN TORONTO
League for Socialist Action,
1 Cumberland St.

IN EDMONTON
Workers Vanguard,
11129-89th Ave.

IN VANCOUVER
League for Socialist Action,
1208 Granville

THE WORKERS
VANGUARD

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Students, Unionists Join Oct. 21 Rallies – Protest Viet War

By all accounts, the October 21 Mobilization against the war in Vietnam was the biggest and most militant international protest yet. Between 100 and 150 thousand demonstrators marched in Washington, D.C., to "confront the warmakers" in both White House and Pentagon. Parallel demonstrations in Europe and throughout the world in solidarity with the American anti-war movement drew unprecedented support — 15,000 in Berlin, 4,000 in London, thousands more in Paris, Sweden, Madrid. 9,000 demonstrated in Sydney, Australia, and reports indicate 1,500,000 Japanese rallied against the war.

In Canada, observers noted a qualitative increase in participation over previous demonstrations. Particularly impressive were the large student contingents, dramatic proof of the perspective for a mass student movement against the war. In some areas, particularly Vancouver, trade union support was quite marked.

Following are some area reports.

Toronto — Despite police harrassment and city hall obstruction, an unprecedented 6,000 marched from the provincial legislature to city hall on October 21. The Toronto marchers included impressive delegations from Hamilton and St. Catherines, where the Labor Council had endorsed the Mobilization. Several hundred participants from the University of Toronto "Teach-In" on Religion and International Affairs also joined the demonstration. Close to half the demonstrators were from student groups at Universities in the Toronto area. There was a very large high school contingent, including 35 from one school which did not even have a chapter of the Students Against the War in Vietnam!

Police efforts to keep the march off the main artery, Yonge street, failed. When the Ontario mobilization committee, after a few bitter internal conflicts between the nervous Nellies of the Communist party and its pacifist allies and the more militant anti-war groups, decided to march down Yonge, permit or no permit, the cops were forced to go along with it.

Among the speakers at the rally were writer June Callwood, Dr. Gustavo Tolentino, who visited north Vietnam this year, and Joe Young of the campus Student Association to End the War in Vietnam. Both Tolentino and Young attacked the Canadian government's complicity in the war, and showed how Martin's call for an end to the bombing of north Vietnam in no way implied government support of self-determination for the Vietnam people. (D.F.)

AMERICAN WAR OBJECTORS
END CANADIAN AID TO U.S. WAR EFFORT NOW!
U.S. TROOPS GET OUT OF VIETNAM
END THE WAR IN VIETNAM NOW!
VIETNAM FOR THE VIETNAMESE
END THE WAR IN VIETNAM NOW!

TORONTO VIETNAM PROTEST

Vancouver — Four thousand opponents of the war marched in pouring rain from City Hall to the Court House, where they were addressed by Prof. James Steele and Alderman Harry Rankin. Chairman of the rally was Jack Moore, regional president of the IWA. Among the forty sponsoring organizations were the B.C. Federation of Labour and the Vancouver Labour Council. University support was indicated earlier in the week by extensive

(See page 3)

...Vietnam Protest

(continued from page 1)

coverage of the student newspaper, *The Ubyssey*, and a rally of 2,000 students on UBC campus. There was a tremendous turnout of high school students in response to a blanket leafleting of every high school in the Greater Vancouver area.

Steele denounced the Canadian government for its continued arms shipments and its diplomatic support of the war, and called on the U.S. to "put an end to its aggression in Vietnam and to leave immediately."

Members of the Fair Play for Cuba committee distributed a leaflet advertising a memorial tribute to Che Guevara. Buttons proclaiming "Viva Che" sold out quickly. (P.C.)

Ottawa — In defiance of the much-publicized decision by the government to ban its loudspeaking equipment, dramatic production and music from Parliament Hill, the Ottawa Committee to End the War in Vietnam went ahead with plans for the October 21 mobilization. More than 400 people marched in rain and cold through downtown Ottawa, and close to 1,000 gathered on Parliament Hill to hear speeches by NDP leader T. C. Douglas, Alphonse Morisette, president of the Ottawa University student' union, and Abbé Louis O'Neill of Laval University.

Douglas' speech, in sharp contrast with the militant tone of the demonstration and rally, was probably the most conservative statement he has ever made on the war. While calling the war "barbarous," Douglas stated that he felt "the Soviet Union and mainland China must share at least part of the guilt for the continuation of the war." He admitted the American actions in Vietnam were "approaching genocide," but went no further than a repetition of the timeworn demands to "negotiate" and "stop the bombings." The response from the audience to these statements was less than enthusiastic.

The Living Theatre presentation was a welcome contrast. They set a toilet chair on the steps of Parliament and mimed Prime Minister Pearson, in a clown's costume and paper crown, reading the speech from the throne. Other gestures exposed Canadian diplomatic and military complicity. When the morality play was ended, the throne speech was stuffed into the toilet bowl. (G.A.)

Edmonton — Over 600 people, the largest anti-war demonstration here in recent years, marched from the Legislature to Centennial Library, where they were addressed by Laurier LaPierre. LaPierre attacked the Pearson government: "Although Martin has called for the bombing to cease, he hasn't questioned the right of the American presence in Vietnam." Pointing to Canada's role as arms merchant and spy and apologist for the United States on the International Control Commission, LaPierre called for Canadian withdrawal from NATO and NORAD which, he said, "threaten world peace." A resolution was passed calling on the Canadian government to "call for the withdrawal of all non-Vietnamese troops from Vietnam," stop selling war materials to the U.S., stop biological warfare research in Canada, and cease obstructing delivery of medical supplies to north Vietnam. (J.L.)

Halifax — The Mayor of Halifax, Allen O'Brien, joined the 300 persons who marched in this city to protest the war in Vietnam.

Winnipeg — This city's demonstration of more than 500 was one of the most militant in Canada. The windows of the U.S. consulate, where the rally was held, were smashed, and anti-U.S. slogans were painted on the wall of the building.

Montreal—500 marched through rain from Phillips Square to the U.S. Consulate. Among the speakers at the broadly-sponsored rally was Arthur Young, organizer for the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière. Most of the participants were English-speaking students. The French students are planning a mass protest for November.

End Canada's Complicity in VIETNAM
Break From the Aggressive NATO-NORAD Military Pacts
For a Policy Independent Of the U.S. Power Structure For Peace Trade and Aid
Vote LABOUR Vote
ROSS DOWSON
Nov.6 Colchester-Hants
Sponsored by the League for Socialist Action, 1 Cumberland St., Toronto
Vote LABOUR
Nov.6 Colchester-Hants
ROSS DOWSON
Sponsored by the League for Socialist Action, 1 Cumberland St., Toronto

CAMPAIGN POSTERS. Above are the two posters of the LSA/LSO campaign in Colchester-Hants by-election. Colors were green and white, the official colors of NDP.

Vancouver Committee Aids Fight vs. Viet War

By Allan Engler

VANCOUVER — The October 21 demonstration here against the Vietnam war, in which close to 4,000 people participated in a march and rally at the court house, was clearly a success for those forces in the anti-war movement who see demonstrations as the best way to mobilize the people against the war drive.

More significantly, at a conference on "Canada and Vietnam" the day after the demonstration, 101 delegates representing 32 groups, including NDP clubs, eight trade union locals, the Communist party, the League for Socialist Action, and all the anti-war groups in the city, voted unanimously to continue the October 21 Coordinating committee on a permanent basis.

The new coordinating committee comprises people and groups who have serious differences on the most effective way to fight. the Vietnam war. For example, the groups involved in the old Peace Action League were able, with the support of the Communist party, to put through a motion supporting Paul Martin for his call for a temporary "unconditional halt to the bombing of north Vietnam." While most of the young people at the conference — including the three representatives of the BC Young Democrats — voted against supporting Martin, the motion carried by a 2 to 1 majority.

The most significant aspect of the vote was not that a number of professorial types, steeped in the "non-class" atmosphere of the universities, should take Martin's statement at face value, but that members of the Communist party voted in a bloc for the resolution. One of their best known local spokesmen, Les MacDonald, even went so far as to compare Martin's "change of heart" with that of Bertrand Russell and of trade union leaders who were once red-baiters but now oppose the war in Vietnam. Like the academics, the CP appears incapable of recognizing either the class basis of politics or even facts. For Martin's proposal, designed as he admits to "put the onus on Hanoi to negotiate", is nothing more than a clever attempt to provide a cover for continuing U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

CP Record

When professors who honestly oppose the war take remarkably naive positions, radicals can feel the need to argue patiently with them. But the Communist party has been through it all before, many times. Following the Second World War they labelled the King government "progressive," called for a Liberal-Labor coalition, ran their own candidates against CCFers on a program to the right of the CCF's, and even gave open backing to Liberals against CCF candidates in industrial ridings. A few months later this same "progressive" Liberal government launched the Igor Gouzenko case — long before Senator McCarthy launched his witch-hunt in the United States. In the ensuing witch-hunt, the CP was left virtually defenseless. By supporting the Liberals in the past they had so disoriented their own members and supporters that they lost their own people, and had so antagonized militant workers who supported the CCF that they were left without any broad support against the witch-hunt.

Concessions

Despite its domination by the CP and academic liberals, the coordinating committee is a positive step. The conservative peace groups have had to make concessions they were not prepared to make in the past — to concede that their exclusionist policy is wrong, that all groups who oppose the war must be allowed to participate; that it is around demonstrations, and not letter-writing campaigns, that the anti-war movement will be built.

The most important programmatic concession has been their ac-

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#137 - Nov. 13, 1967

New Vancouver Group Aids Anti-War Struggle

(continued from page 1)

ceptance of the slogan "Withdraw U.S. Troops from Vietnam." At the first meeting of the Oct. 21 Coordinating committee, this slogan had been defeated when the B.C. Federation of Labor representative suggested his labor body would pull out of the march if it were adopted. A leading CPer, representing the Vancouver Labor Council, said anyone who carried such a slogan was an *agent provocateur*, and probably in the employ of the CIA. At the next meeting, however, this decision was unanimously reversed, following the discovery that the 'Withdrawal' slogan was official policy of the B.C. Fed. This discovery was prompted by the firm commitment of the more militant anti-war groups, such as the LSA and the Vietnam Day Committee, to carry the slogan anyway.

This flip-flop by the pacifists and the CP did not prevent the latter from distributing a nine-page document at the Oct. 22 conference calling for "withdrawal of all foreign troops" — a demand which implies support for U.S. allegations that the war is the result of north Vietnamese infiltration, and fails to point to the complete, unconditional withdrawal of *American* troops as the key to ending the war.

While remaining an unstable coalition, the coordinating committee, by accepting the demand for withdrawal of U.S. troops, permits militant opponents of the U.S. war against Vietnam to participate fully. It points to a qualitative growth of the anti-war movement, with the perspective of drawing in anti-war activists and trade union militants who have been antagonized by the previous lack of unity and were unwilling to commit themselves to any of the existing groupings. Revolutionary socialists will participate in it, will work to build it, and in the next period will seek to win it to a clearer program.

WORKERS Vanguard #138-Nov. 27, 1967

Martin Double - Talks on Arms Sales

by Dick Fidler

"A finer example of evasive double-talk was never seen in any police court."

That's how the Toronto *Star* described External Affairs Minister Paul Martin's latest statement that he is "not aware at all" that the United States is using Canadian-made arms and ammunition in Vietnam.

Canada, Martin told newsmen on November 13, is selling arms to no country "for the purpose of direct trans-shipment" to any theatre of war. "What the United States does with its arms," he contended, "is a matter for the United States to decide."

Martin's pretended denial of Canadian involvement in the war surprised some observers. As one reporter explained, "in the past, Canadian officials have not denied that some of these supplies find their way to Vietnam."

photo by Globe and Mail

PROTESTS VIETNAM POLICY. John Steele (left), one of 60 anti-Vietnam war demonstrators who greeted Prime Minister Pearson outside Toronto's Royal York Hotel on November 4, points to his son Kevin, 3, and says: "Why don't you kill him, too?" Pearson was attending a Junior Chamber of Commerce banquet.

Arms Sales

Of course, Martin chose his words with all the guile and cunning for which he is infamous. Naturally arms and equipment sold to the U.S. are not shipped "directly" to the battle areas; most of them pass via the U.S., from where they are sent on to Vietnam itself.

But all the double-talk of Pearson's spokesmen can't conceal the growing volume of government-solicited arms sales to the United States for use in Vietnam.

For example, the Toronto *Telegram* of November 6 revealed that "the Pentagon has recently awarded contracts worth millions of dollars to Canadian companies or Canadian subsidiaries of U.S. firms.

"Almost all of the contracts," the *Telegram* continues, "were first awarded to the Canadian Commercial Corporation, Ottawa, Canada's official government buying agency, which then distributed them to the firms.

"The position is in marked contrast to that of last year when the Canadian Commercial Corporation received only one Pentagon contract."

The article goes on to list some of the latest contracts. They include radio relay sets for the U.S. army, weapons equipment for F4 fighter planes, ammunition, shell parts, spare parts for aircraft engines, even TNT.

Meanwhile, the government continues to front for U.S. policy in the diplomatic and political field. On October 27, Martin revealed to the House of Commons that Canada has lately been making approaches to other countries seeking their aid in "persuading Hanoi to agree to peace negotiations."

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...Arms Double-Talk

(continued from page 1)

As if it was north Vietnam's responsibility to end the terror bombing, death, and destruction which U.S. imperialism is raining down upon the entire country!

When over-zealous newspapermen attributed to Martin a statement at a luncheon meeting that the United States had no right to be in Vietnam, Martin explicitly denied the reports in Parliament the next day, November 14, and thanked the Canadian Press for correcting "this erroneous report."

Moreover, in the course of that same speech to Toronto's Canadian Club which had given rise to the "erroneous report," Martin went out of his way to argue for retention of Canadian membership in the NATO and NORAD military alliances, which are presently being "renegotiated."

Martin has provided plenty of proof to back up the recent assertion by north Vietnam's official newspaper, *Nhan Dan*, that "Canadian capitalist ruling circles are lending a hand to the American imperialists" in Vietnam.

They're not just lending a hand. They're in it, lock stock, and barrel — literally.

Hellyer Tries To Pass Buck On Complicity

For Transport Minister Paul Hellyer, any moral scruples he might feel about the government's complicity in the Vietnam war are sharply qualified by the profit opportunities which it offers.

When a student at a University of Toronto meeting described Canadian profits on sales of war materials to the U.S. for use in Vietnam as "a crime against humanity," Hellyer was quick to reply.

"You must be careful not to become great moralists over the Vietnam issue," the former Defence minister advised the students.

When the student then demanded to know if Hellyer put Canadian business interests ahead of the people of Vietnam, the Liberal minister cynically told him not to complain.

"You are benefiting from it. Part of your education is being paid by it."

Workers Vanguard

76,000 Reject Vietnam War In San Francisco Referendum

In the first referendum of its sort, 76,000 San Francisco voters called for an immediate ceasefire and withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, in the municipal elections on November 7.

The proposition read: "It is the policy of the people of the city and county of San Francisco that there be an immediate ceasefire and withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam so that the Vietnamese people can settle their own problems."

The withdrawal proppsition won the support of 36½ percent of those who voted on it.

A preliminary analysis of the voting patterns revealed that the heavily black districts of Hunters Point and Fillmore voted overwhelmingly "yes" on the proposition. The heaviest "no" majorities were recorded in wealthy residential neighborhoods.

It must be borne in mind that in the United States, as in Canada, broad sectors of the lower-income brackets rarely go to the polls, often failing to register so as to be eligible to vote.

Most important of all, those most affected and most concerned about the war in Vietnam, the 18- to 21-year-old age bracket subject to the draft are excluded from voting.

Writing from San Francisco the day after the election Fred Halstead, the 1968 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party,

FRED HALSTEAD. SWP Presidential candidate participated in campaign for "yes" vote in San Francisco anti-war referendum.

reported in the November 13 issue of the *Militant:*

"An unofficial straw vote taken at 15 polling places throughout the city for youth over 18 but not yet 21 showed an overwhelming support for Proposition P. With returns in from 13 of the unofficial polls, the vote ran 2,912 'yes' and only 272 'no.'"

Halstead quotes Asher Harer, a member of the ten-man executive committee of the Citizens Committee for a Yes Vote on Peace, which was responsible for placing the proposition on the ballot, as saying:

"This vote shows a growing and deepening opposition to this hideous and immoral war and proves that a huge section of the American population has already accepted the only basis upon which the war can be stopped and the killing of American GIs and Vietnamese ended — the immediate withdrawal of U.S. military forces."

On November 1, the Gallup Poll released figures showing that large majorities of the population in four of six foreign countries — Brazil, Finland, France and Sweden — favor a U.S. troop withdrawal in Vietnam. In Britain, 45 percent supported American withdrawal.

In Canada, 41 percent — the largest number expressing an opinion — favored a U.S. withdrawal. Only 23 percent favored stepping up the U.S. attacks. Sixteen percent were for maintaining the present level of battle, and 20 percent claimed to have no opinion.

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THE WORKERS
VANGUARD

Vol. 12, No. 7 (139) December 11, 1967 Toronto — 10 Cents

New Protests Focus on Canada's Vietnam Role

by John Wilson

The November 18 demonstration by 2500 anti-war protesters in Montreal captured headlines across Canada. What was significant besides the size of the demonstration, called by the Union Générale des Etudiants du Québec (UGEQ) was the highly militant character of the rally. Slogans included, "Napalm Johnson", "Vietnam for the Vietnamese", "Johnson Assassin" and "Liberation". Demonstrators displayed the strength of their revulsion against U.S. aggression and genocide by hurling bricks, garbage and "bombs" of red paint at the American Consulate. And despite the insistence of the Montreal cops that it was "illegal" (they viciously attacked those taking part, arresting 52), the demonstration simply took over the city's downtown streets.

Reinforcing the conclusion that Québécois students are not being left behind by their counterparts in English Canada, the November 21 *Le Devoir* reported that a survey taken at Laval University revealed that 58 percent of the students on that campus are opposed to the imperialist intervention in Vietnam.

These two developments powerfully underline the trends displayed by the October 21 Mobilization and subsequent events.

Exposures of the blatant cynicism and deceit of the Canadian government and its complicity in Vietnam, combined with the impact of the war itself and the powerful acceleration of the U.S. anti-war movement, have heightened opportunities for the rapid increase of the Canadian anti-war movement.

The October Mobilization not only revealed a qualitative increase of anti-war strength in several centers, but an increased breadth of participation. Although the largest gains by far were registered among the ranks of the pre-eminent high school and campus sector of the movement, there was also an increase in other forces. There were more trade unionists and housewives and simply passersby who joined in. In Toronto, for example, a large contingent of American draft resisters appeared for the first time.

The question of Canadian government complicity — which is above all the issue on which the

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WORKERS Vanguard

. . . Students Demonstrate

(continued from page 1)

Canadian people can effectively act — is becoming more and more the focus of anti-war activity.

This has been dramatically shown by the recent series of militant sit-ins and demonstrations on a number of campuses against recruiters for companies involved in war production.

Demonstrations against the Dow Chemical Company, which manufactures napalm, have been held at Western, Windsor, Waterloo, UBC, McGill and other campuses. The sit-in at U of T succeeded in driving the Dow recruiter off the campus. In addition, a highly significant victory was chalked up by the activists when the U of T Students Administrative Council passed a motion calling for cessation of recruitment by war industries on campus.

The U of T sit-in had the broadest participation of any student anti-war action to date, reports the Dec. 2 *Bulletin* of the Student Association to End the War in Vietnam (SAEWV). There has also been a pulling together of anti-war activists with forces involved in the student power movement in these recent demonstrations and sit-ins. The role of UGEQ in Quebec recently is further proof of this tendency.

Student Conference

SAEWV's call for a Student Assembly to End the War in Vietnam, slated for Dec. 28-29 in Toronto, should prove to be an important step in crystallizing this process. The call, in the Dec. 2 *Bulletin,* declares:

". . . The theme of the Assembly will be: Drive the Warmakers off our Campuses. All steps are being taken to make this the broadest and therefore the most powerful student anti-war conference to date. Participants from the more than 20 campus Committees to End the War in Vietnam will join many students from other groups against the war and many unassociated individuals in an assembly based on the principle of one man — one vote. The conference will take up the important question of building on the campus a massive resistance to the accomplices. It will enable students to co-ordinate a cross-Canada campaign, united and strong. . ."

Developments in the student anti-war movement logically suggest a direction toward a massive mobilization this spring centering on the issue of complicity. Almost certainly this would take place in conjunction with developments in the American anti-war movement, which is more and more playing the central role in the international opposition to the war. As well, the increased strength of anti-war forces and the pressure of the war itself will increase the pressure on the leadership of the NDP and the trade unions to become actively involved. The way forward is clearer than ever.

U.S. GUILTY OF GENOCIDE. The second session of the International War Crimes Tribunal ended December 1 at Roskilde, Denmark. The U.S. government was found guilty of genocide in Vietnam, and of using weapons banned by international agreement, maltreatment and killing of prisoners, and violence and forced movement of prisoners. The U.S. was also found guilty of aggression against Laos and Cambodia. Shown above is the Tribunal's first session last May in Stockholm, Sweden.

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Witnesses of the Crimes in VIETNAM!

LAST REFLECTIONS ON A WAR — BERNARD B. FALL'S LAST COMMENTS ON VIETNAM. 288 pp. Doubleday, 1967, $5.95.
THE VILLAGE OF BEN SUC, by Jonathan Schell. 132 pp. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.95.

On February 21 this year, Bernard Fall died in an NLF ambush while covering American forces' operations in the Street Without Joy in the northern sector of South Vietnam. **Last Reflections on a War** brings together seventeen of the widely-reputed Vietnam authority's articles, papers, and speeches on the military and political situation in Vietnam, including a number of hitherto unpublished pieces.

The book is divided into three parts. The first includes well-researched essays on the history of Vietnam and the background to the present American involvement.

The second part details his experiences participating in actual combat from the American side. Some incidents he recounts will shock even those readers already well acquainted with the brutality and colossal crimes of American imperialism. He describes a "small air raid" he took part in on a fishing village in the south suspected of being a "Communist rest center." First the 500-pound napalm bombs were dropped. Then, as the people were forced by the heat and burning into the open, a second plane moved in with heavy fragmentation "anti-personnel" bombs "to hit whatever — or whomever — had rushed out into the open." Then came the cannon.

Part Three is an inconclusive essay on the chances of a "negotiated" solution to the war, which Professor Fall himself would like to see, but the possibility of which he thinks is very dim, at least in the foreseeable future.

Throughout most of the essays, Fall shows particular concern about the prospects for some solution which will allow the U.S. to pull back from its "blunders" without losing face or influence in south-east Asia. The U.S. cannot win militarily without obliterating the country, he says. At the same time, the NLF and north Vietnamese show no sign of relaxing their struggle. A stalemated "solution" like Korea is unlikely: the Vietnamese do not intend to "be deprived of the fruits of victory a second time", as they were by the Russians in 1954, at the Geneva conference.

Vietnamese resistance, Fall points out, "leaves the Soviet Union in an extremely awkward position": although "it has become axiomatic in Washington that the USSR prizes her good relations with the West in general and the United States in particular, above all, and will go to any lengths to preserve them," it is being forced to increase its military aid to the North. Fall believes there is a "dangerous possibility . . . that the next level of the Vietnamese War will involve the nuclear super-powers by sheer accident, if not by design."

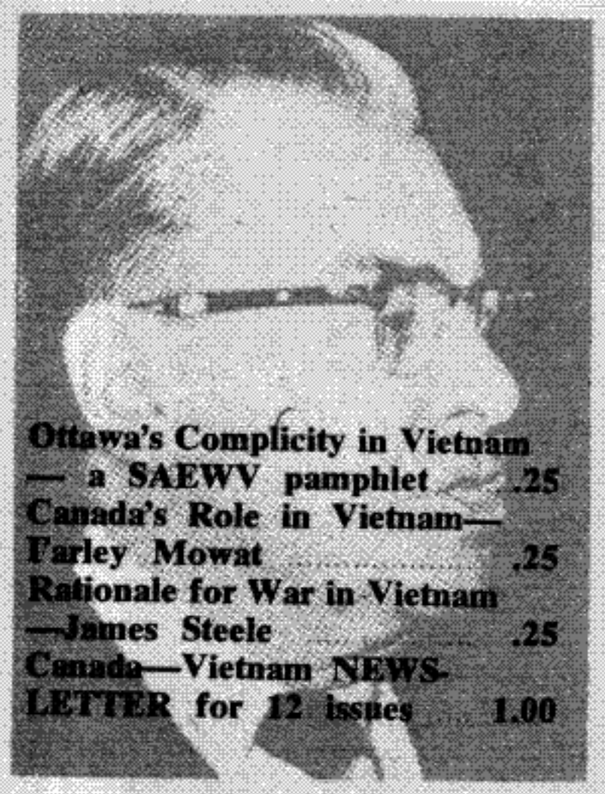
As for the Vietnamese, "while they realize that an American Dien Bien Phu will not take place in the *military* sense, they can still see how it can occur through other means."

One of those means, no doubt, is the U.S. anti-war movement and the impact it can have in forcing American imperialism to withdraw from its gory and ill-fated adventure in Vietnam. Fall, who generally sympathizes with the aims, if not the methods of American policy, does not contemplate a withdrawal. Nevertheless, his book, as one of the most important documents on the situation inside Vietnam, will be read with interest by everyone seeking an end to American intervention against the Vietnamese revolution.

Prof. Fall is particularly pessimistic about the chances for U.S. victory in Vietnam because the so-called "pacification" program, designed to "win the hearts and minds of the people" in U.S.-occupied areas, has been a specacular failure. In **The Village of Ben Suc,** Jonathan Schell shows why.

With extraordinarily persuasive understatement, Schell describes the seizure, forced evacuation, and destruction by U.S. and south Vietnamese forces, of a village on the edge of the Iron Triangle near Saigon. His account of the bombing, senseless killing, torture, the suspicions and cynical contempt of the Americans for the Vietnamese, as seen in the experience of this one village — so typical of thousands more in south Vietnam — arouses a violent disgust in the reader as the enormity of these war crimes begins to sink in. Ben Suc is convincing and unforgettable testimony to the failure of "counter-insurgency" warfare in south-east Asia.

by D.F.



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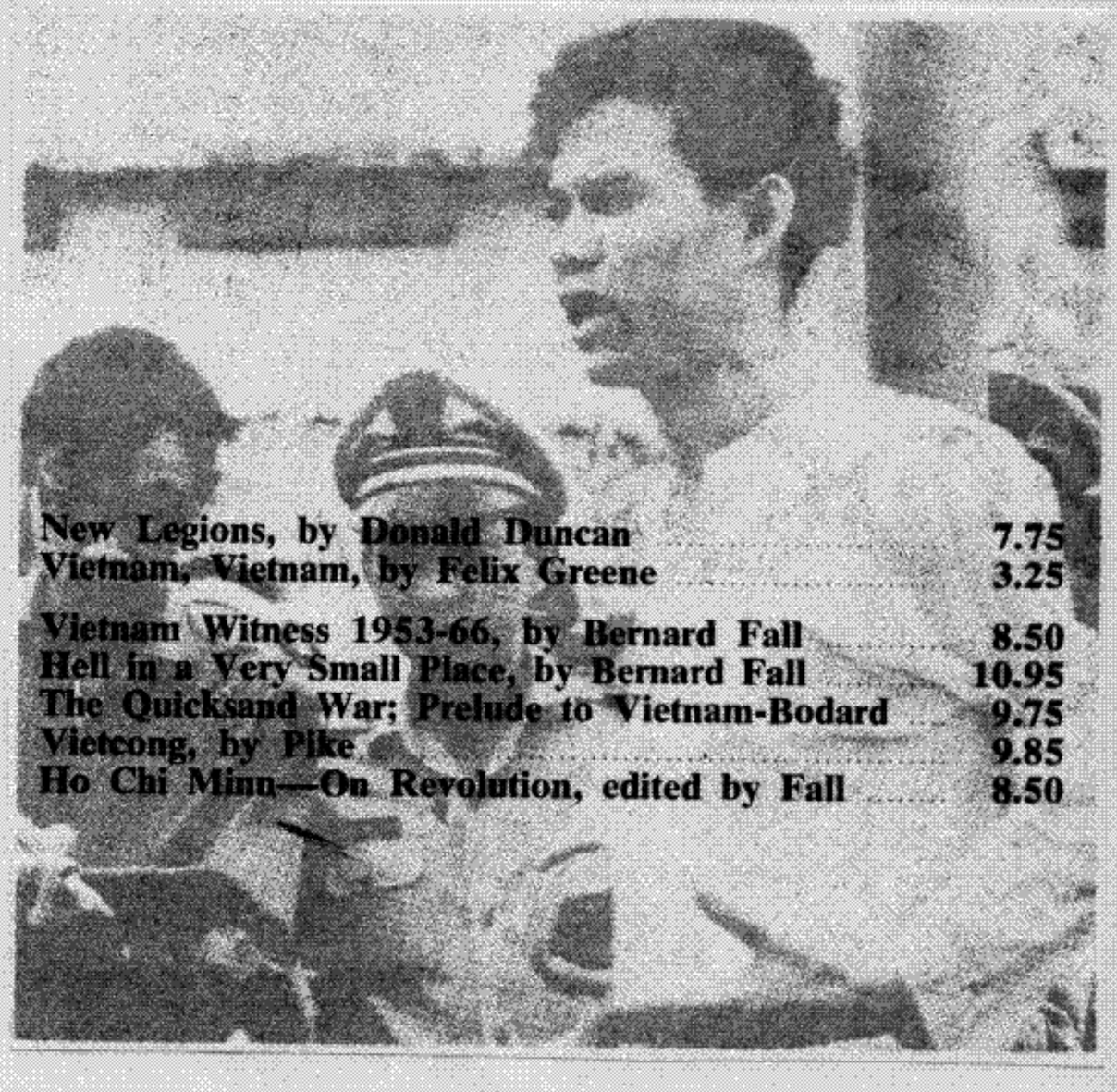

New Legions, by Donald Duncan 7.75
Vietnam, Vietnam, by Felix Greene 3.25
Vietnam Witness 1953-66, by Bernard Fall 8.50
Hell in a Very Small Place, by Bernard Fall 10.95
The Quicksand War; Prelude to Vietnam-Bodard 9.75
Vietcong, by Pike 9.85
Ho Chi Minh—On Revolution, edited by Fall 8.50

TRADE UNION NOTES

Labor and Vietnam

The resolution on Vietnam adopted by last month's Ontario Federation of Labor convention was even worse than previous resolutions by the labor body. The motion, which the resolutions committee brought down just before adjournment on the second day of a three-day convention called for negotiations under United Nations auspices, for intervention in Vietnam by UN police forces, and criticized Hanoi for not indicating it is prepared to accept a ceasefire as a prelude to "effective peace talks."

Amendments naming the U.S. as the aggressor, calling for unconditional halting of U.S. bombing and immediate withdrawal of American forces as well as recognition of the National Liberation Front as the real government, and demanding the halt of Canadian war materiel sales to the U.S., were lost when the question was put, cutting short the debate.

Two delegates, John Steele of the Railway Clerks and Meyer Shapiro of the Postal Workers, ran for the executive on a program of action on Vietnam. In a leaflet distributed on the convention floor, Steele and Shapiro blasted the "Business as Usual" attitude of the OFL brass:

"The labor movement, says (OFL President) Brother Archer, has 'reiterated' its opposition (to the war). We have affirmed' our position and 'once again . . . appealed to the United States.'

"Mankind is in the first stages of an atomic world war. The spiralling cost of living is directly related to the dislocations of the war-inflated North American economy. While GI's and Vietnamese die by the thousands, our government continues its diplomatic and military complicity. Paul Hellyer admonishes university students that arms sales to the U.S. help pay for their education. In the face of this, affirmations and reiterations are meaningless."

While a few sections of the Labor movement have participated in the anti-war movement, the leaflet continues, the OFL's "silence on the Vietnam war borders on complicity."

The leaflet concludes with a call for the OFL to set up a "standing committee on Vietnam" to play a leading role in building the anti-war movement. *"We say we have a leadership position in society. It is criminal for us not to use this leadership on this most vital question."*

Steele and Shapiro received about 100 and 150 votes respectively, from the 700 delegates.

STUDENT POWER. Students sit-in in lobby of Montreal's Sir George Williams University, in one-day strike for representation on university governing bodies. They won four seats on University Council. Recent demonstrations against on-campus recruiters for companies manu facturing Vietnam war materials have raised demand for stud control over campus job placement offices.

WORKERS Vanguard #134 Dec. 11, 1967

No Problem in B.C.

by Ruth Paul

What To Do If The Bomb Drops

What do you do with your dead in the event of nuclear attack? If your city hasn't figured that out yet, then Vancouver is one up on you.

The B.C. Funeral Service Association (BCFSA), in a surge of patriotism, has just drawn up a plan if "disaster strikes Vancouver."

You'll be pleased to know the plan has a scale of fees: $50 for embalming if authorized by a coroner, $16 for a hearse call and $150 plus mileage for shipping bodies.

They presented it to the city's civil defense planners. Russell Shaneman, civil defence co-ordinator for Vancouver, said that he had been "very impressed with the plan."

So . . . if President Johnson's aggression in Vietnam, in Cuba, in South America, should lead to nuclear war, Vancouverites just follow these easy steps:

1) Assuming you survive, locate and count the bodies of your family. If the phones are operative, call the coroner. He will come immediately and, you hope, authorize embalming. Remember, he may be looking for foul play, so *don't* touch the bodies. Leave them where they are 'til he arrives.

2) Phone, without delay, a BCFSA undertaker. They will be very busy operating their "plan." If you're lucky, one will arrive within minutes and for $16 a head carry them to his shop — well barricaded in the depths of Grouse Mountain. There for $50 each and, with adequate dignity, he will embalm your mother, father, husband, children.

Be ready to pay cash. Business will be brisk and credit risky. The fee would only be around $264 for a family of four.

3) Be prepared to carry the bodies somewhere for mourners to view, if any of your friends are still alive. Your home, your clubs, your churches will be destroyed. *Now* is the time to plan another place to take them.

4) Burial may be a problem. But it will be all yours. The BCFSA will be knee-deep in embalming fluid. They may not get to your relatives for a few days, if ever. You may have to put the remains of your loved ones on ice, so to speak, for several days. Your surroundings will still be quite hot so this may be difficult. Don't despair. Use your own initiative. If necessary, bury them under a pile of rubble. You'll save some money as well.

5) Remember, always keep a level head. Follow BCFSA instructions and keep their schedule of fees in your wallet, next to your driver's license, at all times.

If inclined to be downhearted about the whole affair . . . *don't!* Just remember these noble and comforting words from the Association.

"I suppose there are some people who think we are just trying to get our hands on some business, but we drew up this master plan in the sincere hope that it will never have to be used."

Vancouverites can well be inspired by this generosity. While the rest of Canada panics we lucky folks on the West Coast will be disposing of our dead in an orderly fashion and for as little as $66 a corpse.

If you don't already live in Vancouver, better move here now. Then you'll feel secure.